TODAY'S EDUCATION

The Journal of the National Education Association
November-December 1973

- Haim Ginott on Driving Children Sane
- Joseph Noshpitz on Teenage Pressures
- Walter Heller on School Finance
- Robert Hutchins on the Role of Public Education
- Mastery Learning
- Britain's Open University
- Black Studies

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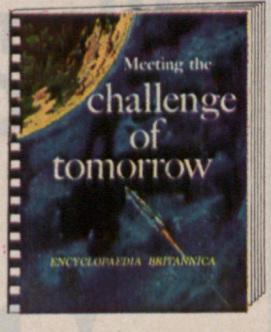

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The Journal of the National Education Association
November-December 1973, Volume 63, Number 7

TODAY'S EDUCATION

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ADVERTISING OFFICES:

Washington, DC 20036—*Today's Education,* 1201 16th St., N.W.; (202) 833-4110.

New York 10017—Robert Nelson, Ralph Miller, Suite 830, 342 Madison Ave.; (212) 661-9234.

Chicago (Northfield), IL 60093—Jack Broderick, Lou Didier, Tom Smith, Ralph Sullivan, 550 Frontage Rd., P.O. Box 327; (312) 446-9571.

San Francisco, CA 94104—Blanchard-Nichols & Smith, 582 Market St.; (415) 986-6341.

Los Angeles, CA 90057—Blanchard-Nichols & Smith, 1830 West 8th St.; (213) 388-6134.

Atlanta, GA 30342—Miller & Tillman, Inc., 130 West Wieuca Rd., N.E.; (404) 252-9588.

Boston (Lexington), MA 02173—Peter A. Boeing, 18 Muzzey St.; (617) 862-7479.

Philadelphia (Media), PA 19063—Daniel Adams, P.O. Box 197; (215) 565-2222.

Dayton, OH 45402—Peter Li, Vera Snow, 38 West Fifth St.; (513) 228-8777.

Montreal, PQ, Canada 265—Lee Wm. MacDonald, 6870 Fielding Avenue, Suite 241; (514) 484-4414.

Published four times a year in September-October, November-December, January-February, and March-April by the National Education Association of the United States, 1201 16th St., N.W., Washington, DC 20036. Telephone: Area Code 202, 833-4000. TODAY'S EDUCATION® goes to all members of the Association. Annual subscription price $1.05 (included in membership dues and available only as part of membership). Single copies $2 each. Second-class postage paid at Washington, DC, and at additional mailing offices. Copyright © 1973 by the National Education Association of the United States. All rights reserved.
POSTMASTER: PLEASE SEND POD FORM 3579 (CHANGE OF ADDRESS) TO NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, 1201 16th ST., N.W., WASHINGTON, DC 20036.

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Growing up is never easy. But you had lots of help.

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To help give the Association added prominence on the local level, a new NEA membership decal has been designed for use on classroom doors, cars, briefcases, luggage, and countless other places.

Why don't you request your free decal from your state association today? It features—along with your state association's name—the NEA theme: Helping Teachers Teach.

More than 170 million Americans saw NEA's message in national magazines and statewide newspapers in September and October. To reinforce the message in your own community, you will, we hope, display proudly the NEA decal.

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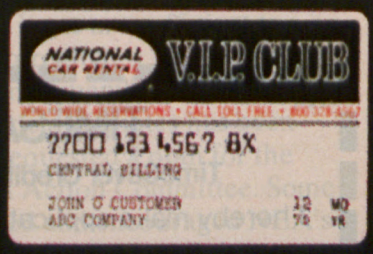

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EDITORIAL

A New Light on the Political Scene

By TERRY HERNDON
NEA Executive Secretary.

☐ **Recently I talked with a leading American columnist** about the NEA and its programs. Because he listened well, I went on at great length about NEA's dynamic growth pattern during the past decade; about the tremendous gains that, through NEA, teachers have made; about NEA's vigorous work in the field of civil and human rights; and about teachers' commitment to social justice and social change.

We talked of the significance of NEA's recent election victories in Portland (Oregon) and in Baltimore and of the potential for victories in several other cities. We discussed the unification program that has achieved 43 state affiliates with unified membership. We talked about the reasons for our record membership of 1.4 million and my absolute certainty that NEA will exceed 1.8 million within five more years.

I described the recent NEA convention: the exciting optimism, the fervent convictions, and the solid commitment to a united but independent teaching profession.

As I poured forth with fervor my confidence in the future, the gentleman interrupted to say, "What exciting prospects! The NEA might shed a completely new light on the whole political scene."

Today I sit in a Washington office and wish that each of the 2 million American teachers would share the excitement of that potential and the hope for its fulfillment.

More than 80 years ago, Sam Gompers defined his purpose:

"We want more schoolhouses and less jails, more books and less arsenals, more learning and less vice, more constant work and less crime, more leisure and less greed, more justice and less revenge."

Although eight decades have now passed, so little has been done that Gompers' entire statement of purpose is still relevant today. Schools still are underfinanced, while years of war have sapped our fiscal resources. Obsolete and underequipped schools linger on, while our arsenals are reoutfitted with more sophisticated instruments of death. Gifted teachers look for work, while other people are unemployed for lack of education. Vice and crime thrive in an anxious society, while government responds as though benign neglect might resolve injustice and accountability might make schools more humane.

There is a critical need for some progressive change. The change we seek is a "new light," a healthy infusion of teacher idealism—idealism that is sensitive, courageous, and beholden to no vested interest—into the crass reality of American political life. A healthy NEA is uniquely suited to make that contribution.

American teachers are sensitive to human need and are committed to a better life for all people. Teachers are dedicated to decisions based on truth and reason. They are well equipped for full, effective participation in our open political system. Beyond the extraordinariness of our individual members, we have other special assets. We are highly organized, and our organization pervades every state and nearly every local community.

The 1973 Representative Assembly demonstrated exceptional sensitivity to the needs of teachers and of society, to the relationship between the two, and to the teachers' collective ability to respond to both. The comprehensive resolutions that were passed speak to these needs with the idealism that we so vitally require. The action items are sufficient to translate this idealism into reality.

The complete unification of membership among NEA, state affiliates, and local affiliates has been mandated. The delegates requested a plan for the funding of NEA's Political Action Committee. Some 9,000 strong, they embraced and encouraged NEA's leadership in the Coalition of American Public Employees. The Assembly authorized discussions of merger with the AFT, provided that the independence of the teaching profession is not compromised.

Finally, the delegates adopted a new constitution and took other actions that clarify the relationships among the NEA, the state affiliates, and the local affiliates. With this action, it appears we have emerged from a decade of pointless sloganeering on "national control," "states rights," and "local autonomy." Now, even more effectively than before, we can expedite problem solving where problems exist—in the legislative, administrative, and judicial processes of *local, state,* and *federal* governments.

Now, even more than before, the NEA and the state and local affiliates are part of an indivisible whole, and each part can accept its responsibility for the growth and well-being of the others. This concept of inseparable mutuality is essential to the fulfillment of our purpose.

We are very, very close. I am certain that we will arrive. When we do, there will be a new light shining as public policy is made. ☐

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These statements are based on responses of a representative nationwide sample of public school teachers to the following question in the 1973 Teacher Opinion Poll:

> Listed below are several basic school programs. In your opinion, does the school in which you teach place too little emphasis, about the right amount of emphasis, or too much emphasis on each of these?

Regarding teaching students about the world of today and yesterday (history, geography, and civics), 81 percent of the teachers queried said that the emphasis was about right. More secondary teachers (84 percent) than elementary (78 percent) and more teachers in school systems enrolling under 25,000 pupils (84 percent) than teachers in systems enrolling 25,000 or more (72 percent) said the emphasis was about right.

A large majority, 72 percent of the teachers queried, believed that in their schools the emphasis placed on teaching health and physical education was about right; about a quarter, that it was too little. Elementary and secondary teachers differed considerably: 30 percent and 19 percent, respectively, said that the emphasis was too little.

Regarding the amount of emphasis placed on teaching students how to get along with others, about 61 percent of all the teachers said that it was about right, but about 39 percent said that it was too little. More elementary teachers (65 percent) than secondary (57 percent) said that the emphasis was about right. The larger the school system, the smaller the proportion of teachers who said that emphasis on teaching students how to get along with others was about right: 55 percent of the teachers in systems enrolling 25,000 or more pupils; 60 percent, in systems enrolling 3,000-24,999 pupils; and 67 percent, in systems enrolling under 3,000 pupils.

Another basic school program listed was teaching students respect for law and authority. About half the teachers said the emphasis placed on this program was about right, and about half said that it was too little. Again elementary and secondary teachers differed considerably: 41 percent of the former and 55 percent of the latter indicated that the emphasis was too little.

On teaching students the skills of speaking and listening, teachers were about evenly divided between just the right amount of emphasis and too little emphasis. However, elementary and secondary teachers differed considerably, 45 percent vs. 56 percent indicating that they thought the emphasis was too little. Less than half (48 percent) of the teachers under age 50 but over half (56 percent) of those age 50 or older said that the emphasis was about right.

More than half the teachers, 56 percent, indicated that their schools were placing too little emphasis on teaching students how to solve problems and think for themselves. More secondary teachers (64 percent) than elementary (48 percent), more rural teachers (62 percent) than urban (56 percent) and suburban (53 percent), and more teachers in school systems enrolling under 3,000 pupils (61 percent) than teachers in systems enrolling more than 3,000 pupils (55 percent) said that their schools were placing too little emphasis on teaching students how to solve problems and think for themselves. Very striking were the differences by age. As the age of the teachers increased, the percentage saying that the emphasis was too little decreased — the range was

(Continued on page 10)

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Teacher Opinion Poll
(Continued)

from 63 percent of those under age 30 to 44 percent of those 50 or older.

Teaching students vocational skills was receiving too little emphasis according to over half (56 percent) of the teachers queried: 65 percent of the elementary and 49 percent of the secondary.

On teaching students the skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic, 68 percent of all the teachers said that the emphasis was just right, and 30 percent that it was too little. Responses of elementary and secondary teachers differed considerably: 12 percent of the elementary but about 47 percent of the secondary teachers said that their schools were placing too little emphasis.

Among the various basic school programs, reading received special attention with the question: "Do the pupils you teach read adequately for their classwork?" The possible answers were "Yes, all read adequately," "No, _____ % do not read adequately," and "Ability to read is not readily discernible in my teaching assignment."

About three-fourths of the teachers said that some of their pupils do not read adequately for their classwork, a median of 25 percent for elementary teachers and a median of 35 percent for secondary teachers.

Basic school program and emphasis on it	Total	Elem.	Sec.
The world of today and yesterday			
About right	80.9%	77.7%	84.0%
Too little	16.4	20.2	12.7
Health and physical education			
About right	71.5	67.9	75.0
Too little	24.0	29.5	18.9
Reading, writing, and arithmetic skills			
About right	68.0	84.1	52.5
Too little	29.7	12.0	46.8
Getting along with others			
About right	60.6	64.6	56.9
Too little	38.6	35.1	42.1
Respect for law and authority			
About right	49.6	56.9	42.6
Too little	48.4	41.4	55.2
Speaking and listening skills			
About right	48.7	54.0	43.6
Too little	50.5	44.7	55.9
Solving problems and thinking for themselves			
About right	43.3	51.5	35.4
Too little	56.4	48.3	64.1
Vocational skills			
About right	41.5	33.8	48.4
Too little	56.4	65.0	48.6

—NEA Research.

LETTERS

Ideas and opinions in this feature are those of the writers and not necessarily of the NEA. "Letters" is primarily a forum for NEA members. Therefore, if you are currently a member, please paste the mailing label from one of your recent copies of Today's Education *at the top of your letter. Please also indicate your school, position, and home address.*

DISTINGUISHED GRADUATES

I was interested to note that two graduates of State College High School—NEA President Helen D. Wise and author Vance Packard—contributed articles to your September-October issue.

—Jo Hays, *former superintendent of schools, State College, Pennsylvania.*

NEW MAGAZINE

Even before I opened my September-October *Today's Education*, I knew something had happened to "our" magazine, and I didn't like it.

It seems to me the main reason for the change is money. The magazine is drab and lacks color, style, design, and pictures. The articles look like a lot of gray print and don't inspire me in the least to read them. And who has time to read the longer articles?

—Jessie Lang, *third grade teacher, Washington School, Kearny, New Jersey.*

I have always found the issues of *Today's Education*—including the latest with the new format—invaluable in my work.

—Eleanor L. Lawrence, *second grade teacher, Eustis Park Elementary School, Aiken, South Carolina.*

WHAT IS KNOWLEDGE?

Ralph Tyler and I ("Ralph Tyler Discusses Behavioral Objectives," September-October) agree on much but we do place different emphasis on the relative importance of acquisition of knowledge versus development of abilities. Knowledge, it seems to me, consists of much more than memorization of facts and is more substantial and more useful than

(Continued on page 12)

nea sponsored programs

NEA offers an extensive program of group service benefits designed to meet individual needs and to save members money. The programs are available only to NEA members and their families. Participation may be continued even after retirement or leaving the teaching profession so long as the membership requirement is satisfied.

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Tax-Deferred Annuity—fixed and variable investment policies at a 4 percent load charge. (For a free prospectus, write to Tax-Deferred Annuity Program, P.O. Box 1088, Springfield, IL 62701.)

Auto Leasing—a service which provides members with an economical way to drive a new car. All makes and models, foreign and domestic, auto and truck, are available.

NEA Educational Travel—worldwide programs that provide highest quality group travel at low cost. Through college cosponsorship of certain tours, teachers, students, and administrators may earn academic credit. In-service credit may also be available.

NEA Mutual Fund, Inc.— a diversified, common stock fund with the objective of long term growth of capital. A member may invest as little as $25 as often as he wishes. The sales charge is only 2%. For a free prospectus write directly to the distributor: Educators Fund Management Corp., 7900 Westpark Drive—Suite 508, McLean, Virginia 22101.

For information about the programs described above, check the appropriate boxes and mail this coupon to:

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LETTERS
(Continued)

general mental abilities.

For example, I question the existence of a general ability to read, apart from some background knowledge of the subject that has been written about, or of a general ability to compute, apart from some background knowledge of the computational processes involved. There are some things I can read with comprehension, and some I cannot. Some things I can compute; some I cannot. It is the relevant knowledge I have or lack that is crucial, not the general ability.

To disparage—to caricature it as rote memorization of meaningless factual information—is to do real education a grave disservice.

—Robert L. Ebel, *professor of education and psychology, Michigan State University, East Lansing.*

Your interview series looks like a winner! Of course, you couldn't have started with anyone who expresses himself more clearly and directly than Dr. Tyler. And the Professors Shane asked pertinent questions.

—James M. Burke, *consultant, measurement and evaluation, State Department of Education, State of Connecticut.*

ACCOUNTABILITY

In the illuminating and perceptive feature on accountability (September-October), the authors clearly spotlight the roles and relationships of all who are involved (or should be) in providing quality education within the framework of equal educational opportunity to America's students. These articles are "must" reading.

—Sherwin J. Kapstein, *executive secretary, Rhode Island Education Association.*

Ernest R. House's discussion of accountability was one of the most thoughtful and perspicacious I have read anywhere.

—L. Rubin, *elementary teacher, Brentwood, New York.*

SERVING THE COMMUNITY

The fine article by Alec Dickson, "A Curricular Approach to Community Service . . ." (September-October), thrilled me. It will stimulate creative ideas in the minds of many teachers. I do hope, however, that Mr. Dickson's reference to the British children's visiting the elderly won't discourage teachers from trying the "Adopting Grandparents" program I wrote about in the April 1972 issue.

—Exine Schamber, *sixth grade teacher, Garfield Elementary School, St. Cloud, Minnesota.*

A better title for Dickson's article might have been "Ask Not What Your Community Can Do for You (the

(Continued on page 14)

great teachers!

Great teachers deserve Teacher's Guides that are up-to-date with the changing classroom as well as today's world.

Improvements based on both teacher recommendations and learner verification include:
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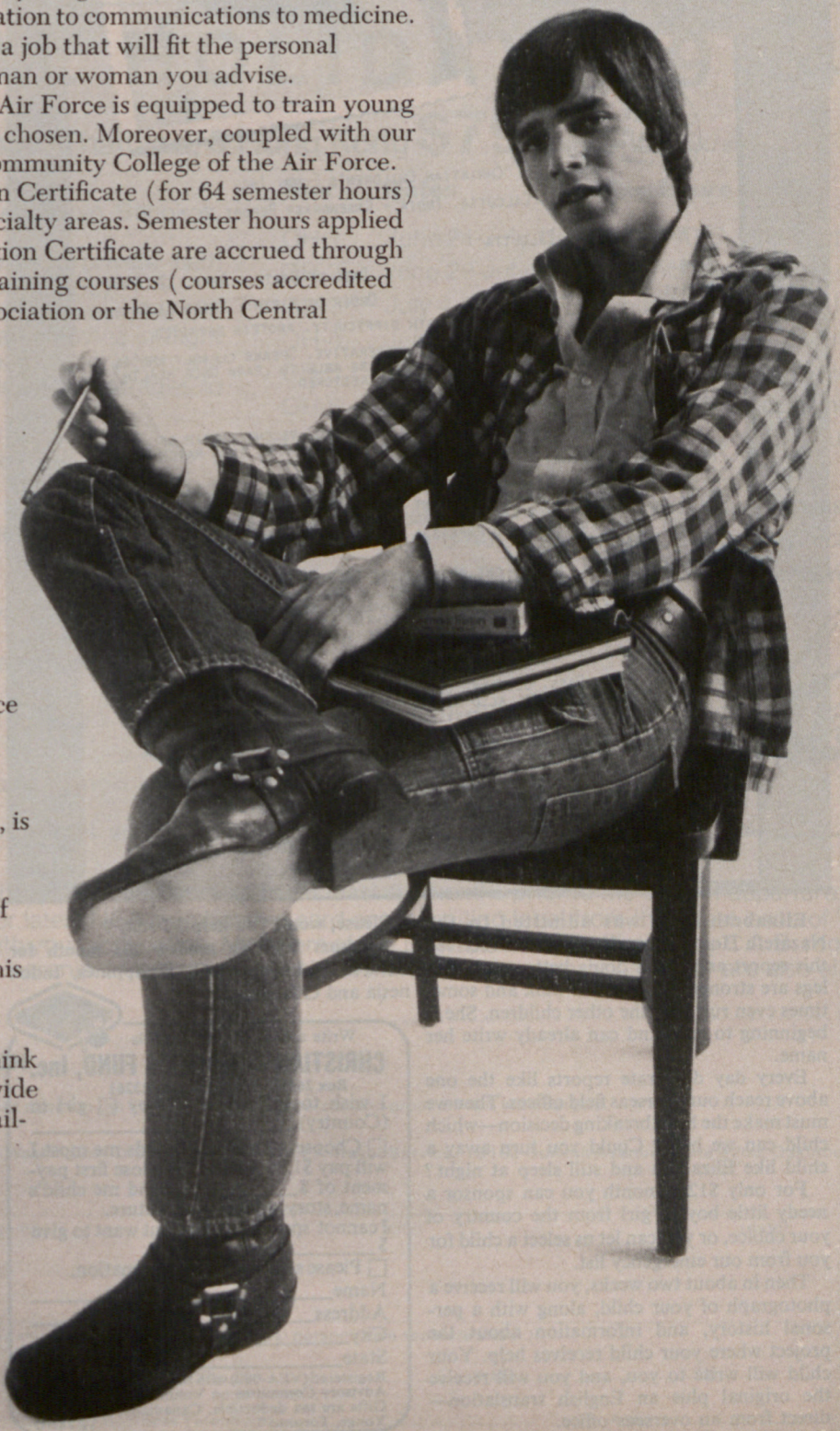
If he isn't going to college, give him his pick of over 250 jobs.

Only about half of all high school graduates go on to college. The other half? You know their talents, inclinations and potential, and you want to give them the best advice you can.

We think we can make that difficult job easier. We can give you specific data on over 250 different Air Force jobs. They range from avionics to meteorology; from mechanics to data processing; from administration to communications to medicine. In brief, we think we have a job that will fit the personal inclinations of any young man or woman you advise.

Just as important, the Air Force is equipped to train young people in the fields they've chosen. Moreover, coupled with our technical training is the Community College of the Air Force. It offers a Career Education Certificate (for 64 semester hours) in any of more than 75 specialty areas. Semester hours applied towards the Career Education Certificate are accrued through both Air Force technical training courses (courses accredited by either the Southern Association or the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools) and off-duty education. And we encourage off-duty education with a program that pays up to 75 percent of tuition costs. For those who decide to return to civilian life, the Community College of the Air Force provides a transcript. In this way, Air Force technical training can help open the doors of potential employers.



An Air Force job, then, is more than just a job. It's a total career-education program that works in or out of the Air Force. We'd like to send you specific data on this program, to describe the training and spell out the salaries and benefits. We think you'll be surprised by the wide variety of opportunities available. Simply write to: Air Force Educational Affairs, Box A, Randolph AFB, TX 78148. Or contact your local Air Force recruiter.

The Air Force

From Calcutta...

Report on Elizabeth Dass...

REC'D CHRISTIAN CHILDREN'S FUND, INC. Richmond, Va.

CHRISTIAN CHILDREN'S FUND, INC.
CALCUTTA, INDIA - CASEWORKER REPORT

TO NAZARETH HOME, CALCUTTA

NAME: ELIZABETH DASS — DATE OF BIRTH: APRIL 12, 1964
NATIVE PLACE: CALCUTTA — ORDER OF BIRTH: THIRD DAUGHTER
HEALTH: FRAIL, THIN, WALKS WITH DIFFICULTY, PROTEIN DEPRIVED
CHARACTERISTICS: GENTLE, QUIET, COOPERATIVE. SPEAKS CLEARLY AND IS OF GOOD MIND. WILL BE ABLE TO LEARN ONCE HEALTH AND STRENGTH ARE RESTORED.
PARENTS CONDITION: FATHER: DECEASED.
MOTHER: MALNOURISHED, RECENT VICTIM OF SMALLPOX, WORKS IN A MATCH FACTORY.
INVESTIGATION REPORT:

ELIZABETH'S FATHER USED TO BE A STREET CLEARNER, DIED FROM TYPHUS. HER MOTHER IS VERY WEAK FROM HER RECENT ILLNESS-INDEEDIT IS REMARKABLE SHE IS ALIVE AT ALL. ONLY WORK AVAILABLE TO THIS WOMAN IS IN A MATCH FACTORY WHERE SHE EARNS TWO RUPEES A DAY (26¢) WHEN SHE IS STRONG ENOUGH TO GET THERE AND WORK.

HOME CONDITIONS: HOUSE: ONE ROOM BUSTEE (HOVEL) OCCUPIED BY SEVERAL OTHER PERSONS BESIDES ELIZABETH AND HER MOTHER. HOUSE IS SO SMALL COOKING IS DONE ON THE FOOTPATH. BATHING IS DONE AT A PUBLIC TAP DOWN THE ROAD. PERSONS LIVING WITH THEM IN THIS HOUSE ARE NOT OF GOOD REPUTE, AND THE MOTHER FEARS FOR ELIZABETH.

SISTERS: MARIA DASS, DECEASED OB SMALLPOX
LORRAINE DASS, ALSO DECEASED OF SMALLPOX
(ELIZABETH FORTUNATELY ENTIRELY ESCAPED CONTAGION)

REMARKS: ELIZABETH WILL CENTAINLY BECOME ILL, PERHAPS WILL TAKE UP THIEVING, MAYBE EVEN MORE TERRIBLE WAYS OF LIVING, IF SHE IS NOT REMOVED FROM PRESENT HOME CONDITIONS. HER MOTHER IS WILLING FOR HER TO GO TO NAZARETH HOME AND WEEPS WITH JOY AT THE HOPE OF HER LITTLE DAUGHTER BECOMING SAFE FROM THE WRETCHED LIFE THEY NOW HAVE.

STRONGEST RECOMMENDATION THAT ELIZABETH DASS BE ADMITTED AT ONCE.

Elizabeth Dass was admitted to the Nazareth Home a few days after we received this report and she is doing better now. Her legs are stronger . . . she can walk and sometimes even run with the other children. She is beginning to read and can already write her name.

Every day desperate reports like the one above reach our overseas field offices. Then we must make the heartbreaking decision—which child can we help? Could you turn away a child like Elizabeth and still sleep at night?

For only $12 a month you can sponsor a needy little boy or girl from the country of your choice, or you can let us select a child for you from our emergency list.

Then in about two weeks, you will receive a photograph of your child, along with a personal history, and information about the project where your child receives help. Your child will write to you, and you will receive the original plus an English translation—direct from an overseas office.

Please, won't you help? Today?

Sponsors urgently needed this month for children in: India, Brazil, Philippines, Indonesia and Guatemala.

Write today: Verent J. Mills

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☐ Choose a child who needs me most. I will pay $12 a month. I enclose first payment of $_____. Send me child's name, story, address and picture.

I cannot sponsor a child but want to give $_____.

☐ Please send me more information.

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LETTERS
(Continued)

Schools)—Ask What You Can Do for Your Community." A fitting inaugural for a new quarterly.

—John A. Canning, *principal, William H. Farquhar Middle School, Olney, Maryland.*

Alec Dickson's article was wonderful! How great to involve young people with the community. And, surely, the "outside" needs to share experiences with the school. Please give us more in-depth articles on humanizing education.

—Shirley Day, *classroom teacher, East High School, Sioux City, Iowa.*

TEACHER EDUCATION

I read with considerable interest your September-October feature, "Excellence in Teacher Education." Reform in teacher education has been overdue, and these programs illustrate some needed new emphases.

Yet, a word of caution seems called for. Some such programs could unintentionally support the tendencies in many institutions today toward exaggerating the importance of "doing one's own thing." Teachers need to learn how to commit themselves enthusiastically to those tasks they might never choose as their own thing.

—William M. Alexander, *professor of education, University of Florida, Gainesville.*

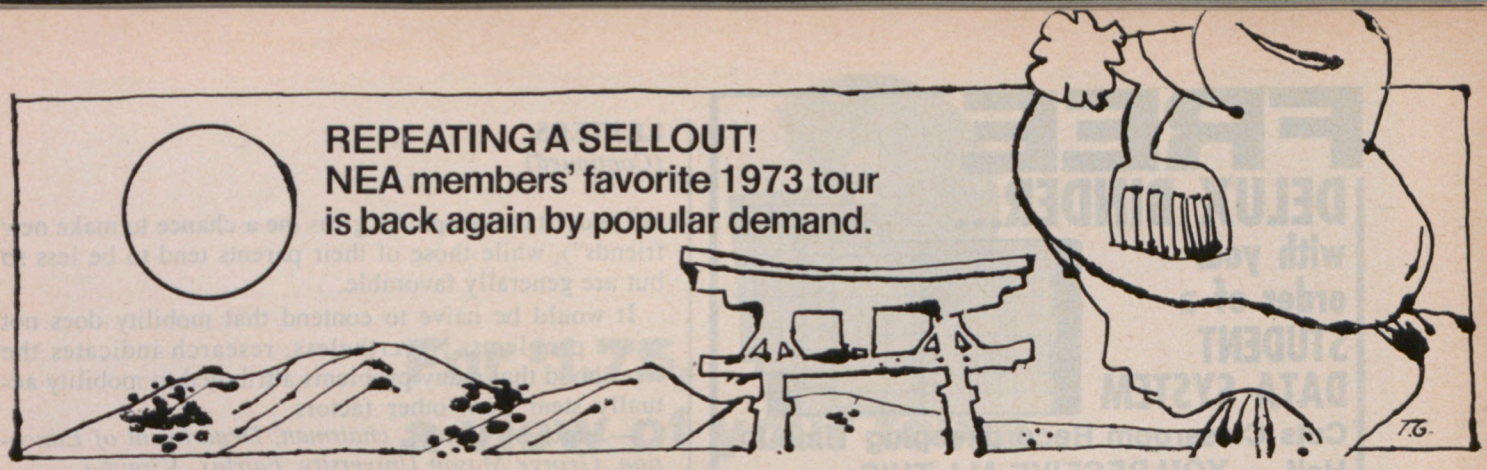
The need for alternative programs in teacher education has never been greater, and your assistance in promoting the Distinguished Achievement Awards Program of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education is beneficial to the entire profession.

—Robert P. Foster, *president, Northwest Missouri State University, Maryville.*

MOBILITY

Mr. Packard's article ("Nobody Knows My Name," September-October) emphasizes the problems of youth in a mobile society but neglects the many positive aspects of such a society. Students' reactions to mobility are predominantly positive ("helps

(Continued on page 16)



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- Full American breakfast daily (*new feature*).
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- All sightseeing in each city by deluxe, air-conditioned motorcoach.
- *Tokyo:* Half-day city tour.
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- *Hong Kong:* New Territories tour.
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- Local taxes and gratuities.
- Free flight bag on arrival in Tokyo
- Optional school visits in Tokyo and Bangkok (*new feature*).
- OH-14 through OH-21 have an overnight and extra 18th day in Seoul, Korea.

Tour	Dates	Departure Cities
OH-1	June 24-July 10	Wash., D.C., and Memphis
OH-2	June 29-July 15	Atlanta and Chicago
OH-3	July 4-July 20	Philadelphia and St. Louis
OH-4	July 9-July 25	Baltimore and Detroit
OH-5	July 14-July 30	New York and Cleveland
OH-6	July 19-Aug. 4	Philadelphia and Minneapolis
OH-7	July 24-Aug. 9	New York and Pittsburgh
OH-8	July 29-Aug. 14	Boston and Chicago
OH-9	Aug. 3-Aug. 19	New York and Kansas City
OH-10	Aug. 8-Aug. 24	Wash., D.C., and Chicago
OH-11	Aug. 13-Aug. 29	Baltimore and New York
OH-14	June 23-July 10	Los Angeles
OH-15	June 30-July 17	Los Angeles
OH-16	July 7-July 24	Los Angeles
OH-17	July 14-July 31	Los Angeles
OH-18	July 21-Aug. 7	Los Angeles
OH-19	July 28-Aug. 14	Los Angeles
OH-20	Aug. 4-Aug. 21	Los Angeles
OH-21	Aug. 11-Aug. 28	Los Angeles

Eligibility: The NEA member must have held membership for at least six months prior to the date of departure. Send a photocopy (or other facsimile) of your latest NEA membership card or the mailing label from the latest issue of "Today's Education" or the "NEA Reporter" with your application. Members of the immediate family (limited by C.A.B. regulations to spouse, dependent children, and parents of the member only residing in the same household) are also eligible to travel at the same price.

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LETTERS
(Continued)

me understand people"; "gives me a chance to make new friends"), while those of their parents tend to be less so but are generally favorable.

It would be naive to contend that mobility does not cause problems. Nevertheless, research indicates the likelihood that many problems attributed to mobility actually stem from other factors.

—James M. Snyder, *chairman, Department of Education, George Mason University, Fairfax, Virginia.*

The effects of student mobility in an urban school district are truly harrowing. Children from these "shifting" families make up a hefty 40.4 percent of our school population. The problem is compounded because of its prevalence among families already beset with factors leading to educational failure.

The result we face in our classrooms goes beyond damage to educational achievement. Absence of continuity in discipline produces disruptive behavior as the child strives to meet the challenge of each new school situation. Teachers' efforts to remedy the "catching up" problems of the nomadic student are seriously weakened by the great amount of time that must first be given to satisfying the student's need for acceptance, order, and affection.

—Virginia Lewis, *instructional specialist, Syracuse (New York) City School District.*

MATCHING TEACHER, STUDENT, METHOD

Louis Rubin's article (September-October) does not examine whether, even if students do learn more readily when matched with teachers and methods most similar to their learning style, it is desirable to limit them to that style. Forced partnership occurs in employment, in social situations, and in civic groups. We must all learn to function in various atmospheres; this learning may be more important than geography or algebra.

Second, even if teachers and students could be matched, no two students function at exactly the same level, and no student functions the same at all times. To achieve matching, it would be necessary to supply enough teachers for all types of learning styles and to reevaluate the style of each teacher and of each student with frightening frequency to shift students to teachers who can share their mood.

Third, asking a child to answer a questionnaire on how he feels about his class will result in subjective answers, which are not necessarily psychologically valid. To analyze such a questionnaire in depth would take many hours and much skill.

Since Dr. Rubin admits that his findings "yielded a mixed bag," there seems no point in continuing to consider matching teacher, student, and method.

—Rena Garter, *Bellerose, New York.*

♦ **What are the implications of Watergate for education? The editors are eager to learn the opinions of educators on this question. Please send brief statements to Today's Education, Box C, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20036.**

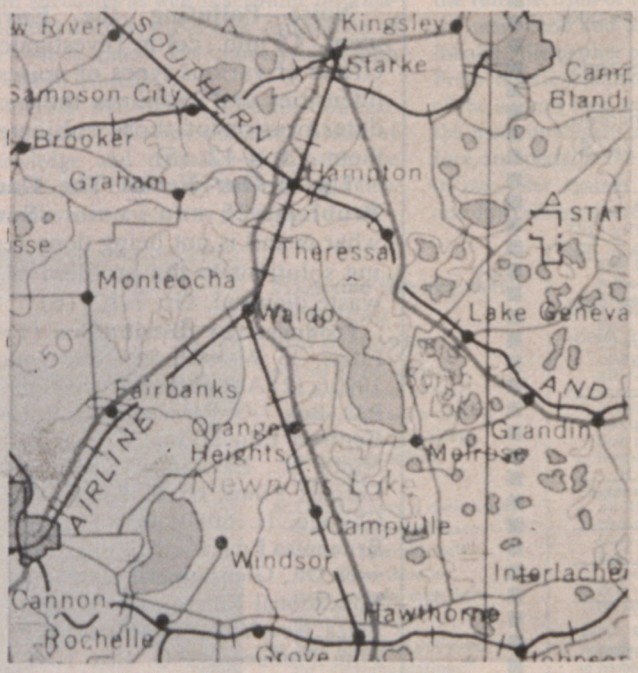
For $1.75, a view of your town from 567 miles up

It relates well to just about any school subject where you are looking for more involvement.

Drop a note to the Government's EROS Data Center, Sioux Falls, S. D. 57198. Find out what's available for your area from NASA's Gemini, Apollo, Skylab, or the Earth Resources Technology Satellite (ERTS), which looks down on you once every 18 days and has begun to play a significant role in agriculture, mining, environmental protection, water resource management, and a lot more.

EROS also sells aircraft photography going back many years. The changes seen over 18-day intervals or over a generation are interesting in themselves.

Prices are reasonable. $1.75 buys a 9″x9″ black-and-white print covering 115 miles on a side. A 40″x40″ color print costs $25.



A 1956 map

Same area as seen 8/2/72. Note changes in lake boundaries.

As a public service to call attention to this great photographic teaching resource, Eastman Kodak Company contributes this advertisement.

AN ORDINARY DOG IN AMERICA EATS BETTER THAN SHE DOES.

Cristina eats whatever she can find in the garbage. And that is far less than some prowling dog would find in your garbage can.

For just $12 a month, you can save such a child.

Through our Children, Inc. "Adoption" program you can help provide a child with a better diet, new clothes and medical attention. Even an education.

But there's not a moment to lose. Every 60 seconds, five or six more children will die from starvation.

Write direct to Mrs. Jeanne Clarke Wood, Children, Incorporated, Box 5381, Dept.TEIIC,Richmond, Va. 23220.

I wish to "adopt" a boy ☐ girl ☐ in _____
Name of Country

I will pay $12 a month ($144 a year). Enclosed is my gift for ☐ a full year ☐ the first month. Please send me the child's name, story, address and picture.

I understand that I can correspond with my child, and continue the "adoption" longer than one year if I wish. Also, I may discontinue the "adoption" at any time.

☐ I cannot "adopt" a child, but want to help $_____
☐ Or, I will pledge $_____ per month.
☐ Please send me further information.
☐ If for a group, please specify_____
Church, Class, Club, School, Business, etc.

Name_____
Address_____
City_____ State_____ Zip_____

You can "adopt" a child from any of the following countries: Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Guatemala, Honduras, Hong Kong, India, Iran, Japan, Korea, Lebanon, Mexico, Nigeria, Paraguay, Peru, Syria, Thailand, U.S.A.—Appalachian children or American Indians. (Or a child of greatest need.) All gifts are fully tax deductible.

CHILDREN, INCORPORATED

AUDIOVISUAL MATERIALS

Man and His Environment

The following list of 16mm sound films has been recommended by Carolyn Guss, Indiana University Audio-Visual Center, as representative of some of the newer ones available on the subject of man and his environment. Further information may be obtained from the distributor indicated by the number in parentheses.

Air Is for Breathing. 29 min., color. Analyzes what the main pollutants are and the principles that must guide an effective approach to pollution control. Gr. 7-12. (8)

The City: Who Needs It? 30 min., color. Explores how and why men build cities. Focuses on Venice, Tokyo, New York, and Arcosanti—a city of the future, being built in the Arizona desert. Gr. 5-6. (2)

The Hunter. 10 min., color. A wordless story that strikes out against violence while depicting man's close relationship to nature. Gr. 4-6. (1)

Life in a Pond. 11 min., color. Shows an elementary school class on a field trip examining a self-sustaining group of plants and animals in a fresh-water biome. Revised edition. Gr. 1-6. (4)

Noise—Polluting the Environment. 15 min., color. Investigates the effects of various types of noises and intensities and examines the hearing deterioration of those subjected to them. Gr. 4-12. (5)

Up to Our Necks: The Garbage Problem. 25 min., color. Surveys what is and is not being done regarding solutions to the problem of solid waste disposal. Gr. 7-12. (6)

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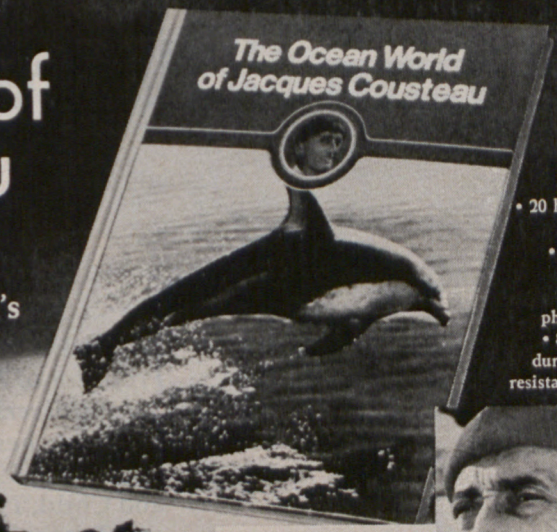

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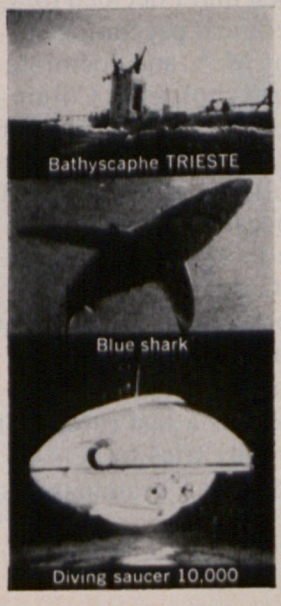
J. Y. Cousteau



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Driving Children Sane

By HAIM GINOTT
Professor of Psychology, New York University, and author of the following best sellers: Teacher and Child, *1972;* Between Parent and Child, *1965;* Between Parent and Teenager, *1969; and* Group Psychotherapy with Children, *1961. The first three books were published by Macmillan Company; the last, by McGraw-Hill. Dr. Ginott writes a weekly newspaper column, "Between Us," distributed by King Features, Inc., and appears frequently on television.*

☐ **A story is told about a teacher** who was known for her love of children. She was chosen teacher of the year. On her way home from the award ceremony, she caught two boys scribbling uncomplimentary inscriptions in the wet cement near her home. So, she beat them up.

Of course, this became the scandal of the year. The principal called her to his office and asked her to explain herself. "You who love children have beaten two of them up. How can you account for it?" She replied, "Well, I love them in the abstract but not in the concrete."

While I can accept this teacher's excuse, I must reject her reasoning. Children are always in the concrete. Their problems are always concrete, especially in the classroom.

I used to be an elementary school teacher in Israel many years ago, and I quit. I couldn't detect any connection between what I was teaching and what the children were learning. I taught them one thing, and they learned something else.

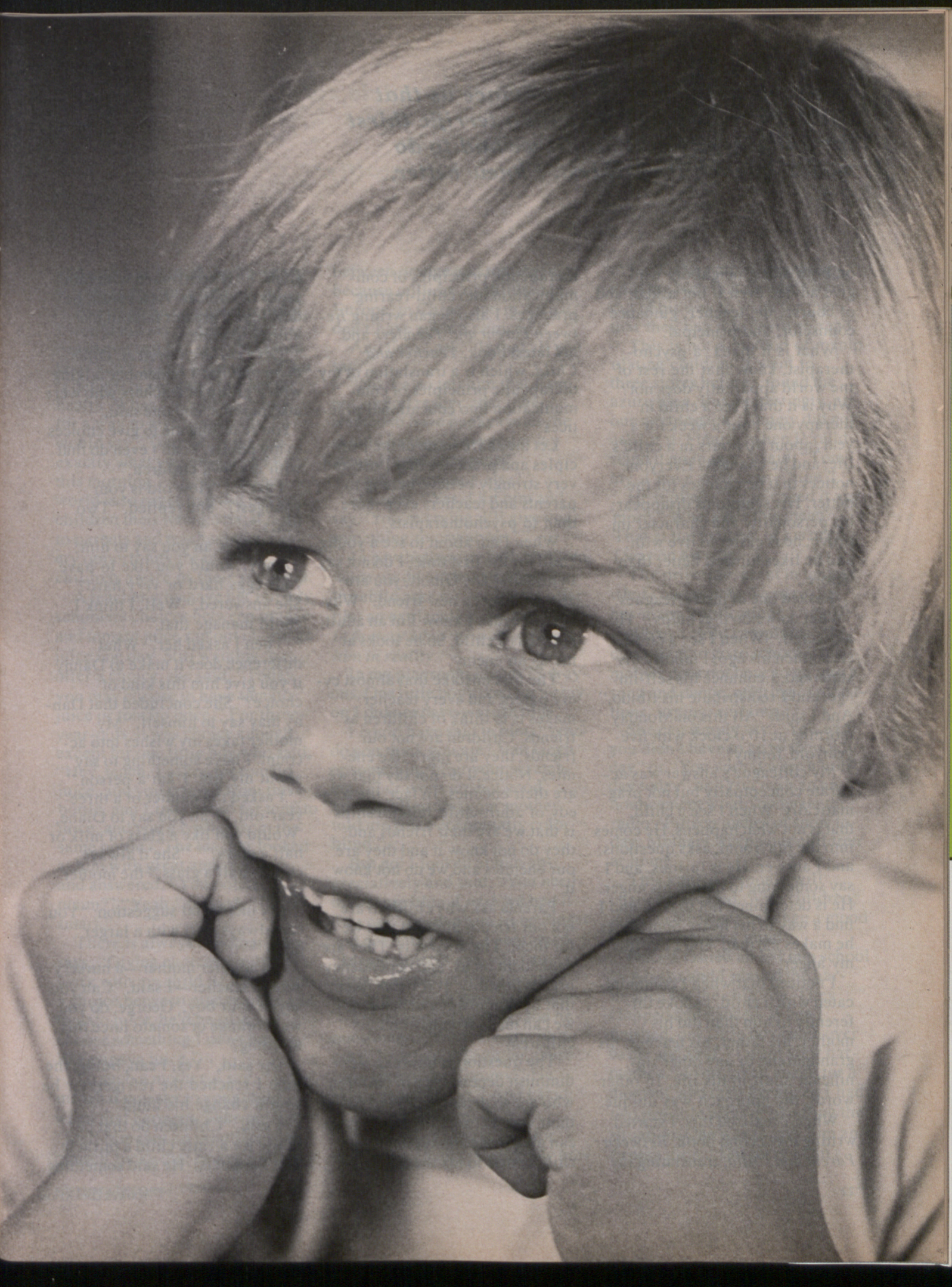
Since I was young and naive at the time, I discussed the matter with the principal. I said to him, "The children come to us at the age of six, and they are lovely. They look up to us; they talk to us politely. When they leave at the age of 14, they are savages. How come it takes us eight years and we do so poorly?"

He didn't like my line of questioning and said rather glibly, "Why don't you go to the United States and study some more?"

So I did. I went to Teachers College, Columbia University, and got my B.S. in education. Then I knew it was hopeless. The professors talked to us in a way that did not make sense to someone who had already been a teacher. They wanted to convince us that children came to school with a terrific thirst for knowledge and that all we had to do was quench their thirst. I knew better. Children came to school to make our lives miserable. And they succeeded!

It was then that I decided to become a clinical psychologist, and I got my M.A. and doctorate in clinical psychology at Columbia University. I wanted to understand what I was not taught in two teachers colleges. Luckily, I had a chance. I became chief psychologist in the Jacksonville, Florida, Child Guidance Clinic. There I worked with children and their parents in psychotherapy.

Children are brought to psychotherapists as a last resort. At first, everybody tries to help—mother and father; grandparents



The professors wanted to convince us that children come to school with a terrific thirst for knowledge and that all we had to do was to quench their thirst. I knew better.

on both sides; neighbors who give advice even if not asked; and of course, the teacher, guidance counselor, and principal.

What is it that I, a psychotherapist, know that the rest of the world apparently does not? Why is it that I see a child in therapy one hour a week for a year, about 50 hours in a child's life, and he changes? Everyone notices that he changes for the better. His symptoms disappear; his personality and character improve; he is easier to live with; and he likes himself better than before.

I asked one of my colleagues, "What do we do that helps?" He answered, "When I see a child, I strengthen his ego, I modify his superego, I enhance his self-image, and I redistribute his libido." And I said, "All this on Monday morning at 10 o'clock with five-year-old Jimmy?"

My colleague's answer was accurate conceptually but not pragmatically. When I see a child, that is not what happens. He comes into the playroom, asks questions, and I answer. He is furious, and I say something to defuse his anger. He is determined not to talk, and I find a way to his heart. Sometimes he makes me mad, and I express my anger.

I noticed that when I communicated with a child, I spoke differently to him than did his mother, his father, his teacher, his grandparent, or any other significant adult in his life. In other words, my approach was unique.

When I realized this, I started writing my second book, *Between Parent and Child,* translating my therapeutic principles of communication into child-rearing practices. I also began writing *Between Parent and Teenager* and my latest book, *Teacher and Child,* which is a translation of my therapeutic principles of communication into educational practices.

Let me share some of the principles and practices that I use and very strongly believe belong to parents and teachers even more than to psychotherapists.

When I am about to see a young child for the first time, I do not say to myself, "Dr. Ginott, you are about to meet a new friend." Why not? Because I know I'm an adult, and he is a child. So he looks at me as an enemy.

The first mistake that almost every parent and every teacher makes is to think of children as friends. Children are not our friends; they are more like enemies. Notice, I do not say that we are their enemies. In fact, the tragedy of adult-child relationships is that we are their friends and they do not know it and they are our enemies and we do not know it.

Parents ask why children are not our friends after all that we do for them. The answer is: They are dependent on us, and dependency breeds hostility. It follows, then, that by diminishing dependency, we can make friends of our children.

The question is how can we diminish dependency in children who are so dependent on us by their very nature? Psychotherapy can give some answers. When a child comes to his therapy sessions, he is confronted with thousands of choices. As a result, he develops a greater faith in his ability to cope.

Give children choices. Offer them options. I remember talking with a group of teachers who were also parents, and one said, "You're telling me to give choices to my pupils. I can't even do that with my own children."

I asked, "How old is your youngest?" She replied, "Two years."

I said, "Can you say to him, 'Danny, would you like to have your eggs hard or *very* hard?' " She answered, "Well, I think I could manage that."

Then I asked her, "What difference does it make to Danny if you give him this kind of choice?" She concluded that Danny may say to himself, "My mother takes my wishes into account. I have something to say about my life. I am a person."

I asked the mother of a three-year-old, "Can you say to Diane, 'Would you like a glass of milk or half a glass?' " "She'd always choose half a glass," the mother said.

My incidental suggestion: "You can always start with a larger glass."

To another mother—a nursery school teacher—I said, "Can you say to your boy, 'George, do you want orange or tomato juice this morning?' "

She said, "Yes, I can, but by the time I reached the refrigerator he would change his mind."

I said, "Children do that because for a little child a miracle just happened. He said something,

and an adult moved. So he wants to repeat the miracle."

But when he changes his mind, I would not say to him what I heard one teacher say: "Make up your mind, if you have one." That is definitely not good for mental health. What I would do is look for a way to give him credit. I would say, "George, you know exactly what you have a yen for this morning." The rest of the world is so eager to point out to children their wrongness; it is up to parents and teachers to use every opportunity for making children aware of their rightness.

A teacher who gave her nursery schoolers choices between orange and tomato juice ran out of orange juice one day. Still wanting to offer a choice, she said, "Today you may choose to have tomāto juice or tomäto juice." For three-year-olds, it was choice enough, except for one little boy who said, "Hey, teach, I asked for tomāto juice, and you poured from this bottle, and Linda asked for tomäto juice, and you gave her from the same bottle." The teacher looked at him with great appreciation and answered, "You noticed it, mmm?" "Yeah," he said, "I'm smart."

There is always a mother who says, "Giving choices wouldn't work with my child. If I gave him a choice between orange juice and tomato juice, he'd be sure to choose something I don't have—like papaya juice."

To such a mother, I say, "Tell me what you say to your child when that happens." She replies, "I tell him that he should consider himself lucky that he has a choice between orange and tomato juice because millions of children in Europe, in China, and in Africa don't have such a choice."

And then I ask, "Is that all you say?"

"No. I also tell him that I am not a mind reader, that if he wanted to have papaya juice, he should have told me yesterday when I went shopping."

I ask, "Anything else?"

She says, "Yes, I hit him and say, 'You're crying; I'll give you something to cry about.'"

In psychotherapy with children, when we do not have something the child asks for, we do not offer him an explanation, *we grant him in fantasy what we cannot give him in reality.*

In my playroom I have 77 crayons. One little boy asked for a crayon I did not have—azure blue.

I could have said to him, "Who do you think you are? Van Gogh or something? For your scratching, 77 crayons are not good enough? Besides, your mother told me you were actually color blind."

But no! I looked at him appreciatively and said, "You need that azure blue. I *wish* we had it for you." To give him some Piaget and not only Freud, I continued, "In your mind's eye, you can already visualize how the picture would look with your azure blue."

Then I started writing, and he questioned, "What are you writing?" I replied, "To order azure blue special for Tommy." He said, "Don't forget." And I said, "Let me underline it."

This method works best for children who do not yet know how to read. They are so caught up with the idea that an adult went out of his way to write for them that they begin to learn to read.

This is not a method of manipulating children. I went to three stores before I found the azure blue. But interestingly, at our next session, Tommy did not ask for it. Finally, when I could stand it no longer, I said, "Tommy, I have your azure blue."

He replied, "I don't need it anymore." What does this mean? That at the moment of his need, I was on his side.

The principle, grant in fantasy what you cannot give in reality, has many applications.

When a child complains, "I don't want to go to school," his mother does not have to go into a song and dance, offering explanations, urging, cajoling.

She can simply say, "You *wish* you didn't have to go to school today" or "You *wish* it were a holiday today" or "You *wish* an announcement would come on the radio, 'Fifteen inches of snow today. Mothers, keep your children at home.'"

This kind of response will change the mood. With children, it is much easier to change a mood than to change a mind.

Once I visited an Eskimo school in Alaska and I played the harmonica for the children. They clapped and danced. When I finished, one little boy came over to me and said, "I want your harmonica." I was taken aback for a moment, and then I realized I had two possible ways of handling the situation: One was to give him an explanation, "I'm sorry I can't

In psychotherapy with children, when we do not have something the child asks for, we do not offer him an explanation; we grant him in fantasy what we cannot give him in reality.

give you the harmonica because I have only one and I want to play it for other children." The other was to grant him in fantasy what I could not give him in reality.

I opted for the latter and said, "Oh, I *wish* I had a harmonica to give you." He smiled. Then another boy came over, "What about me? I want a harmonica." I said, "Oh, I wish I had one to give *you*." And he smiled.

The third one came over and was much more enterprising and asked for five harmonicas. So I answered, "Oh, I wish I had five harmonicas to give to *you*." The next one wanted 10 harmonicas. The last one wanted a million.

The interesting thing about these exchanges was that the mood was not spoiled by explanations. All of the children got into the spirit of the thing and all of them felt they got something from me: my goodwill, my being on their side.

One more principle of communication that I use in psychotherapy and that teachers and parents often do not use is guidance, instead of criticism, as a means of influencing children. How do the two differ? Criticism attacks the child's personality and character, calls him names, and tells him whom he resembles and where he'll end up. Guidance defines the problem and helps find solutions.

Did you ever see what happens when a child spills a glass of milk at home? Mother: "How many times do I have to tell you how to hold a glass? What's the matter with you? You're 10 years old and clumsier than your baby brother."

If father is there, he is even more helpful: "Listen, he can't help it. He's clumsy. Always was and always will be. He was born a slob." And if father wants, he can escalate the war and tell his wife, "He takes after your family."

In guiding a child, a mother would say, "Oh, the milk spilled. We need a sponge." All of us have learned insult together with mother's milk, so our tendency will be to say, "The milk spilled, you idiot. We need a sponge." I'm pleading with adults to resist the temptation to insult and instead to say, "Oh, the milk spilled. We need a sponge."

I saw a beautiful example of guidance, rather than criticism, in a classroom. A child touched a standing blackboard, and it fell with a loud noise. He was upset. The teacher consoled, "Those standing blackboards are a pain in the neck. You need help to pick it up?" The child's face changed from horror to utter astonishment, and he answered, "No, I can do it myself." In a minute, he picked up the blackboard.

I stayed on in this classroom, and another teacher and another child came in. This child also touched the standing blackboard, and it fell. But this teacher had another reaction, "Everything you touch ends up on the floor. What is the matter with you? Do you have two left hands or something?" The child just stood there. The teacher added, "What are you doing standing there like an idiot? Hop to it."

These two teachers differed. One had learned skills in communicating; the other had not. One teacher knew that when a child has a mishap, the adult says nothing to the child about his personality or his character but deals with the situation. As George Fox, the founder of the Quakers, said, "Don't talk to the person, talk to his condition."

How does a teacher deal with a guest who comes to his home and forgets his umbrella? Does the teacher run after him and say, "Mr. Smith, every time you come to our home you forget something. If it's not one thing, it's another. I bet you'd forget your head if it weren't connected to your shoulders. Mr. Smith, will you never learn? After all, you're 44 years old."

It seems to me that no teacher would say that. Every teacher knows what to say to a guest. He says, "Mr. Smith, here's your umbrella." How come?

We were all brought up by parents and teachers to be sensitive and protective of guests' feelings. Not so with children's feelings. We weren't taught that we need to treat children the way we treat guests.

One teacher commented, "Guests come for a couple of days; our children stay longer." But the principle doesn't change, because children are also guests in our homes and schools. There are only a few years in which we can really make an impact on their personality, on their character, and on their values.

And values can be taught only in concrete situations, not by heart-to-heart talks and by preachment. A little boy and his

father were in an ice cream parlor. The boy said, "Dad, I want a double-decker ice cream cone." When the father replied, "I'll get it for you," the boy said, "No, I'll get it myself."

The father countered, "You'll drop it. You always drop things." But the boy insisted, and his father let him get the cone.

As I watched the scene, I said to myself, it will be a miracle if the child does not drop the cone. Why? Because if he does not drop it, he makes his father a liar and himself the son of a liar. Of course, the boy dropped it. In fact, his act was a sacrifice to protect his father's good name.

He came to his father crying, "I'm bad, Daddy, I'm bad." And the father answered, "You're not bad, you're stupid."

What an opportunity the father missed. Mishaps are God-given opportunities to teach children the best of human values. I can see another father looking at his boy and saying, "Son, that's not what we say when ice cream splatters. *We* don't blame. *We* look for solutions. 'Mr. Waiter, I want another ice cream cone for my son.'" A child with such a father has a head start in mental health.

After discussing how to handle mishaps, many parents and teachers I work with say that they can't wait for the milk to spill in order to try the new method. (The children don't let them wait too long!)

When somebody says, "You talk like a teacher," I know he is not trying to be complimentary. Why? Because we have a reputation for dwelling on trivia. Or as one child said, "My teacher always says something after she says something."

Professor Jacob Kounin at Wayne State University taped a conversation in a classroom to demonstrate how teachers waste time, energy, and effort. A boy had lost his pencil and said to his teacher, "Teacher, I lost my pencil."

The teacher responded:

- "John, did you lose your pencil?" This, after the child had just told him, "I lost my pencil."
- "I'd like to know what you did with it."
- "Did you eat it?"
- "What happened to it?"
- "What color was it?"
- "You can't do your work without a pencil."
- "I'll get you a pencil."
- "Make sure the pencil is here tomorrow."
- "And don't tell me tomorrow that you lost this pencil too."

Nine statements, and all of them unnecessary. If the teacher were going to give the boy a pencil, he should have given it graciously. "Here is another pencil, Johnny." At least the teacher would receive a thank you and would be able to say, "You're welcome."

Here is another example. Sometimes children talk when they shouldn't in the classroom. A typical teacher reaction to a classroom situation follows:

- "Richard, stop the talking."
- "Some of you are cooperating, and some of you are not."
- "Mary's cooperating and doing the work."
- "So is Jimmy."
- "Mabel isn't listening."
- "Now, you all know this isn't a playground."
- "This is a classroom, and we are supposed to be learning."
- "Good citizens don't bother other children who are trying to learn, do they?"
- "So, let's all cooperate and be good citizens and not disturb other children."

It's hard for children to learn when there is a lot of noise—especially from the classroom teacher.

A little girl returned home after her first day in school. Her mother asked, "How did you like it?" The child responded, "It was nice except for one lady who kept interrupting."

Many years ago, I wrote a statement that I included in the preface of my book, *Teacher and Child,* because I think it is something that is important for teachers to keep in mind:

"I've come to a frightening conclusion that I am the decisive element in the classroom. It's my personal approach that creates the climate. It's my daily mood that makes the weather. As a teacher, I possess a tremendous power to make a child's life miserable or joyous. I can be a tool of torture or an instrument of inspiration. I can humiliate or humor, hurt or heal. In all situations, it is my response that decides whether a crisis will be escalated or de-escalated and a child humanized or dehumanized." □

Dr. Ginott spoke at greater length on this topic at the 1973 NEA convention in Portland, Oregon.

Education for Peace–Today

By HELEN D. WISE
NEA President.

The NEA is gearing its observance of the nation's bicentennial in 1976 to stress the benefits and values of peace.

Peace is more than the absence of war. It involves the appreciation of other peoples, regardless of differences in sex, race, ethnic origin, language, culture, or mores.

In this century, our nation has emphasized preparation for war; now we must wage a massive effort to prepare for peace as a means for realization of the basic human rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness sought by our forefathers two centuries ago. A nation capable of sending men to walk on the moon can—and must—find and walk the path of peace, human dignity, and universal justice.

The NEA, which over its 116-year history has consistently worked to improve the quality of life for all, must make a major contribution to this challenging undertaking. The Association will use its unique resources to mobilize, catalyze, and publicize domestic and worldwide activities, movements, and organizations working for the related objects of education for peace, human rights, and a humane society.

The public, teachers, and students are ripe for drastic reforms in education in order to foster the development of human rights for all peoples in a peaceful, worldwide society. This will require significant changes in curriculum, instructional materials, and teacher education.

In this period preceding the bicentennial and during the observance itself, the NEA will seek to make history rather than to recall it, to honor the past with a celebration of the future. We hope to bring about a major turning point in the direction of education so that it may contribute to the continual expansion of the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

We shall strive to make teaching a vehicle through which these principles, basic to the American Revolution, may become the guidelines for human relationships on our planet. We shall help teachers give leadership to the expansion of the human and civil rights of those in our nation still deprived of them, and we shall encourage the application of these guiding principles to our relations with other nations.

What is the scope of education for peace? It must be continuous. It must—

1. Reach children in the primary school with unprejudiced and undoctored information about their neighbors, neighbors in their school, community, nation, and the world.

2. Develop in children love and respect for their country—and respect for other nations.

3. Be positive, focusing less on the immorality of war than on the positive attributes that are the antithesis of war—understanding of, cooperation with, and kindness to others.

4. Provide opportunities, in continuing education programs, for adults of all ages to participate

The teaching profession needs to establish a philosophy of education which rejects racism, classism, and authoritarianism.

in seminars dealing with peace and justice.

5. Develop throughout the curriculum the concept of the interdependence of the peoples of the world and of the common interest of mankind in the preservation of peace and justice.

What are the major issues to be included in a program of peace education?

Prejudice. It begins long before children enter school and is difficult to eradicate. However, teachers can work to eliminate biases in themselves and their students.

Academic freedom. A teacher should be free to teach the truth as he comprehends it. If he is not permitted to do so, there can be no peace and no justice.

National interest and national pride. National interest and national pride are not undesirable, but in this shrinking world of ours, our national interest is caught up with that of other nations. National interest must not be chauvinistic.

The practical benefits of peace. Unfortunately, examples abound, both national and international, of the economic exploitation of the weak by the strong. Economic gains at the expense of others eventually boomerang. War wastes human lives.

The meaning and significance of power. In the past, militarily powerful nations could unilaterally settle disputes with other nations by war. Now, other methods of conquest—economic penetration, political propaganda, and psychological pressure—may substitute for war. But these, too, must go if we are ever to have world peace.

Consequences of human suffering. Because of rapid communications systems, famine, disease, and oppression that affect one country generate shock waves in other countries. No man is free as long as suffering and injustice occur.

The machinery of safeguarding peace. Each citizen can provide input to the evolution of his country's attitude toward other nations. We can teach about, support, and make the United Nations a true mechanism for peace. It is only as strong as the nations wish it to be.

The roots of conflict. Wars are often rooted in fear—fear of territorial or economic containment, fear of loss of influence, fear of being gobbled up by a greedy neighbor. Fear can easily create a mass hysteria that will quickly sweep a nation to the brink of war.

The antidote for such fear is a sufficient number of politically informed and educated citizens who can withstand the pressure of mass hysteria and work to establish tranquility.

What are the ways and means of education for peace?

Fostering an appreciation of different cultures, cultural values, and languages is one of the best ways to help eliminate prejudice. In schools with pupils from different cultural groups, the introduction of bilingual, bicultural programs can go a long way toward building understanding and peace.

School curriculums that include studies of various cultures and ethnic groups through textbooks, dramatic presentations, art, and music help young people appreciate their fellowmen. Textbooks that treat our own familiar world narrowly should be replaced by interestingly written and informative stories about all nationalities, races, and creeds.

Through unrealistic, irrelevant, and symbol-based curriculums and biased textbooks and other materials, some minority children are led to believe that they are part of an inferior race of people. This teaches them to despair, to hate, to quit.

Also, many textbooks and other printed materials contain phrases and expressions which are detrimental to peace and feed prejudice. They leave the impression that—

- *We* are peace loving. *They* are the aggressors.
- *We* fought bravely and honorably. *They* were cruel and irresponsible.
- *We* get involved with another country to support the legitimate government. *They* get involved to suppress oppressed people.
- *We* feed the hungry out of compassion. *They* do it to win political gain.
- *We* are firm. *They* are obstinate.
- *Our* armaments are for defense. *Theirs* are for attack.

Textbooks must conform more nearly to the truth.

In addition to being cautious of material in textbooks and other educational materials, teachers might present information about the great peace and religious leaders instead of building up the war heroes of the world.

Teachers are the keystone in the

education of the child. If they themselves do not understand and believe in the concept of world peace, they cannot possibly lead a child to this belief. Continuing education with a component of training in international understanding and cooperation is, therefore, vital for teachers.

For teacher candidates, the curriculum of a school of education needs to emphasize the elimination of prejudice—social, racial, ethnic, and religious—and stress the concept of cooperation among all peoples of the world.

Education for peace is not only the concern of the schools, however. Changes must take place in other parts of our society as well.

If adults could be brought together through the medium of theater groups, lectures, or organized sports and learn about people they formerly disliked or distrusted, their prejudices might be sufficiently dissipated so that they would not, in turn, pass them on to their children.

In place of toys of destruction, which are now so popular, children can play with creative games and intriguing puzzles. Also, television programs based on world music, art, and children's literature could do much to interest the young in the other countries and peoples of the world.

What can teacher associations do to promote peace?

The influence of the public school on the acculturation of the child is so great that if we are to educate for peace we must look to the teaching profession to take the lead in a realistic philosophy of education, one suited to today's world.

The profession needs to establish a philosophy of education which rejects racism, classism, and authoritarianism. This philosophy would link education and reality by including an understanding of war, injustice, oppression, and poverty in the curriculum.

The profession can strive so that all children have the right and the access to a good education, from kindergarten to university, regardless of race, sex, religion, ethnic origin, color, or economic status. It follows that students have the right to make choices and to participate in making decisions which govern their lives.

Teacher associations can establish units or divisions to concentrate on human relations and work toward the elimination of prejudice and discrimination within schools and in society.

Teacher organizations can try to instill a sense of understanding, an appreciation of diversity, a knowledge of other cultures, and an insight into other peoples among their members, who in turn can share these with their colleagues and students.

Teacher associations can invite teacher leaders from other countries to conferences and conventions; encourage representatives of our associations to attend association meetings abroad; carry out association group exchange visits; exchange ideas and promising programs with foreign teacher associations; invite foreign students who are studying here in relevant fields to attend and participate in our national and regional conferences and seminars; and offer to foreign students complimentary subscriptions to our professional and trade publications.

Associations can also establish international relations divisions and join and participate in international teacher organizations, such as the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession.

In addition, teacher associations can—

- Publish and circulate articles about the promotion of peace and international understanding and provide other information on the subject.
- Take stands on problems and issues which affect peace.
- Sponsor conferences and seminars on how to promote peace.
- Urge governments to make the United Nations an effective instrument for peace. Support and cooperate with the United Nations Association of the United States and with specialized agencies of the UN, such as UNESCO, the Food and Agriculture Organization, UNICEF, and the World Health Organization.
- Urge our government to adopt the various human rights treaties and conventions.
- Encourage teacher training institutions to stress the concept of peace and international cooperation.

As Voltaire said, "There is no such thing as perfect harmony . . . but let us try, before we die, to make sense of life." If we can do this, justice and human dignity and peace will prevail. □

Hold That Line!

By STEVE BRODY
English Teacher, Eastchester (New York) Senior High School.

☐ **I still wake up screaming when** I recall the horrendous events of my first year of teaching, long ago. There was that week, for instance, when I had drawn ticket-selling duty for a Saturday football game.

When Coach Ferris learned that I was a new teacher and had never pulled ticket duty before, he hustled me to the blackboard in his office for a briefing. He then drew a diagram of the athletic field. "This is Gate 1," he said, drawing a large G. "The main gate. Draws a lot of traffic, comprendy?"

He then drew an S, signifying the student body, a V for visiting students, and an A for adults. He drew arrows tracing their routes of entry and pointed out where I was to take up my position. "The S's here, they go for two bits a head. The V's are half a buck and the A's, we charge them a buck, comprendy? In a situation like this, defense is important. Anybody don't have a ticket, we give'em this . . ." He demonstrated a shoulder block.

"Nobody gets in for free, comprendy? Not even the Governor. This is a big game, sonny. Moola-wise, you should go over the top. Don't panic when making change, and see to it that the old grads pay." He shoved the cash box and three rolls of tickets at me. "Good luck," he said, patting me on the fanny as I left.

I headed for Gate 1, where a crowd of people had already gathered. I opened the Gate and a skinny youngster with glasses wiggled through without bothering to pay. I gave him the shoulder block.

"Are you a student?"

"Do I look like a custodian?"

"Never mind, fresh kid. Twenty-five cents, please."

"I'm selling potato chips."

"Too bad. Everybody pays, even the Governor."

"I'm on the Student Council. We're selling potato chips to raise money for an electric scoreboard. Ask Coach Ferris."

"Coach says everybody pays. Twenty-five cents, please."

The youngster was persistent. By this time, a line had formed, from which came shouts and jeers. Faced with the prospect of a revolt on my outer flank, I made a crucial decision. "Okay, enter this time, but don't let it happen again."

Next in line was a freckle-faced girl, who likewise breezed through without bothering to pay.

"Twenty-five cents, young lady."

"I'm in the band."

"Everybody pays, even the Governor."

She put her hands on her hips. "I play trombone. I hate football. I never even watch."

The crowd started jeering again.

"OK, Miss, I'll make an exception in your case, but next time give me a note."

I was on the verge of negotiating my first cash transaction when I saw a youngster scale the fence. He landed hard, shot me a hurried glance, then took off for the stands. I left my station and shot after him, pursuing him through the crowd which had already filtered in through the other gates. At the five yard line I brought him down with a flying tackle.

I arose to a standing ovation and took a deep bow. My trousers had torn at the knees and my clean white shirt hung tousled, but I had captured the culprit. "Lemme go," he protested. "I'll tell my father."

I grabbed him by the scruff of the neck and yanked him through the crowd back to Gate 1. The long line I had left was surging in. I was determined that someone would pay dearly for the debacle.

I grabbed the youngster by both ears. "OK, wise guy," I said. "Pay me twenty-five cents."

"Lemme go," he snarled. "I'll tell my father."

"I'm real scared of your father."

"You oughta be. He's the school superintendent."

"I'm real scared. My knees are shaking. . . . Your father's the what?"

"He's the superintendent. Dr. Driscoll. That's my father. I'll tell him you tackled me . . . illegally."

"How would you like to see a football game as my guest? Here, take this quarter. Buy yourself some potato chips."

He accepted the quarter and promised to keep the incident from his father. The game had already begun.

Coach Ferris was understandably disappointed. The all-time record for Gate 1 was $545.25. I had gone $545.50 under that figure. We tried to find where I had gone wrong.

"Things could have been worse," I said. "I caught a kid jumping the fence, and I gave him a real going over. It turned out to be Dr. Driscoll's kid. I had to bribe him to keep quiet."

Coach let out a groan.

"Did I make a mistake?" I asked.

"Dr. Driscoll doesn't happen to have any children."

It was my turn to groan. ☐

Teachers, Teaching, and Mastery Learning

By JAMES H. BLOCK
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☐ **Mastery learning is both a philosophy** about schooling and an associated set of instructional strategies whereby the philosophy can be implemented in the classroom. This philosophy asserts that under appropriate instructional conditions virtually *all* students can and will learn well most of what they are taught.

Actually, the roots of this philosophy go back several hundred years. For example, they can be found in the writings of the Jesuits, Comenius, Pestalozzi, and Herbart.[1] But it was only in the latter part of the nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth that the mastery learning idea was applied to U.S. education by individuals such as Washburne at Winnetka and Morrison at the University of Chicago.[2] And it was not until the late 1950's and early 60's that the technology required to sustain an efficient and effective mastery learning strategy became available. Only in roughly the last decade, therefore, have feasible mastery learning procedures become available to the American classroom teacher.

Two major types of mastery learning strategies are now in use.[3] Both types attempt to better individualize instruction by (a) helping students when and where they have learning difficulties, (b) giving them sufficient time to learn, and (c) clearly defining what they will be expected to learn and to what level. But one type uses primarily an *individually based* instructional format where each student learns independently of his classmates.[4] The other employs a *group-based* approach where each student learns cooperatively with his classmates.[5]

Since few schools may possess the resources required to implement an individually based approach to mastery learning, let us focus here on only one example of the group-based approaches: Bloom's "learning for mastery" strategy.

Bloom's Strategy—The genesis for Bloom's mastery learning ideas was a conceptual model of school learning suggested by John B. Carroll.[6] This model rested on the observation that a student's aptitude for a particular subject predicted either the level to which he could learn the subject in a given time or the time he would require to learn it to a given level. Hence, rather than defining aptitude as an index of the level to which a student could learn, Carroll defined aptitude as a measure of learning rate: A student with high aptitude for a subject would learn it quickly, while one with a low aptitude would learn it more slowly.

In its simplest form, Carroll's model suggested that if each student were allowed the time he needed to learn some subject to some mastery criterion and if he spent the necessary time, then he would be likely to attain mastery. The time spent was determined either by the student's perseverance, i.e., the amount of time he was willing to spend actively engaged in learning, or by the time he was allowed to learn. The time needed, on the other hand, was determined by the student's aptitude for the topic, the quality of his instruction and the instructional materials, and his ability to understand the instruction and the materials.

If the quality of instruction and of the instructional materials were high, then the student would readily understand the instruction and would need little time to learn the topic beyond that required by his aptitude. If the quality of the instruction and of the materials were low, however, the student would then need much additional time.

Bloom transformed this conceptual model into a working model for mastery learning by the following logic. If aptitude were predictive of the *rate,* but not necessarily the *level,* at which a student could learn, it should be possible to fix the degree of learning expected of each student at some mastery performance level. Then, by attending to the time allowed and the quality of instruction—the variables under teacher control in Carroll's model—the teacher should be able to ensure that each student attains this level.

Elaborating on this logic, Bloom argued that if students were normally distributed with respect to aptitude for some subject and were provided with *uniform* instruction as to time allowed and quality of instruction,

If each student received differential instruction as to time allowed and quality of instruction, then a majority of students could be expected to attain mastery, and there should be little or no relationship between aptitude and achievement.

then few of them would attain mastery, and the relationship between aptitude and achievement would be high. But if each student received *differential* instruction as to time allowed and quality of instruction, then a majority of students, perhaps 95 percent, could be expected to attain mastery, and there should be little or no relationship between aptitude and achievement.

The mastery learning strategy developed in accordance with this reasoning is designed for use in group-based instructional situations where the calendar time allowed for learning is relatively fixed. As noted above, Carroll's model of school learning proposed that each student can master a given topic if he is provided enough time. Consequently, Bloom's mastery learning strategy attempts to minimize the time a student needs to learn so that it is within the fixed amount of calendar time available. This is accomplished through two distinct sets of steps. One set occurs prior to the actual classroom instruction; the second takes place in the classroom.

Preconditions for Mastery Learning—The teacher who wishes to achieve mastery learning begins with the assumption that most of his students can learn well and that he can teach so that most *will* learn well. Practically, this means that the teacher shifts from the belief that only a small percentage of his students can really earn A's to the belief that almost all of them can. It also means that the teacher decides to base each student's grade on his actual performance rather than on his rank in class.

The teacher then turns to the problem of formulating what he means by mastery of his course. Ideally, he would first define what material all students will be expected to learn. This entails the formulation of course objectives. He would next determine to what level or mastery performance standard they would be expected to achieve these objectives. Lastly, he would prepare a final or summative examination[7] over all these objectives for administration at the course's close. He could then compare each student's score on this test against the predetermined mastery standard in order to test for mastery or nonmastery.

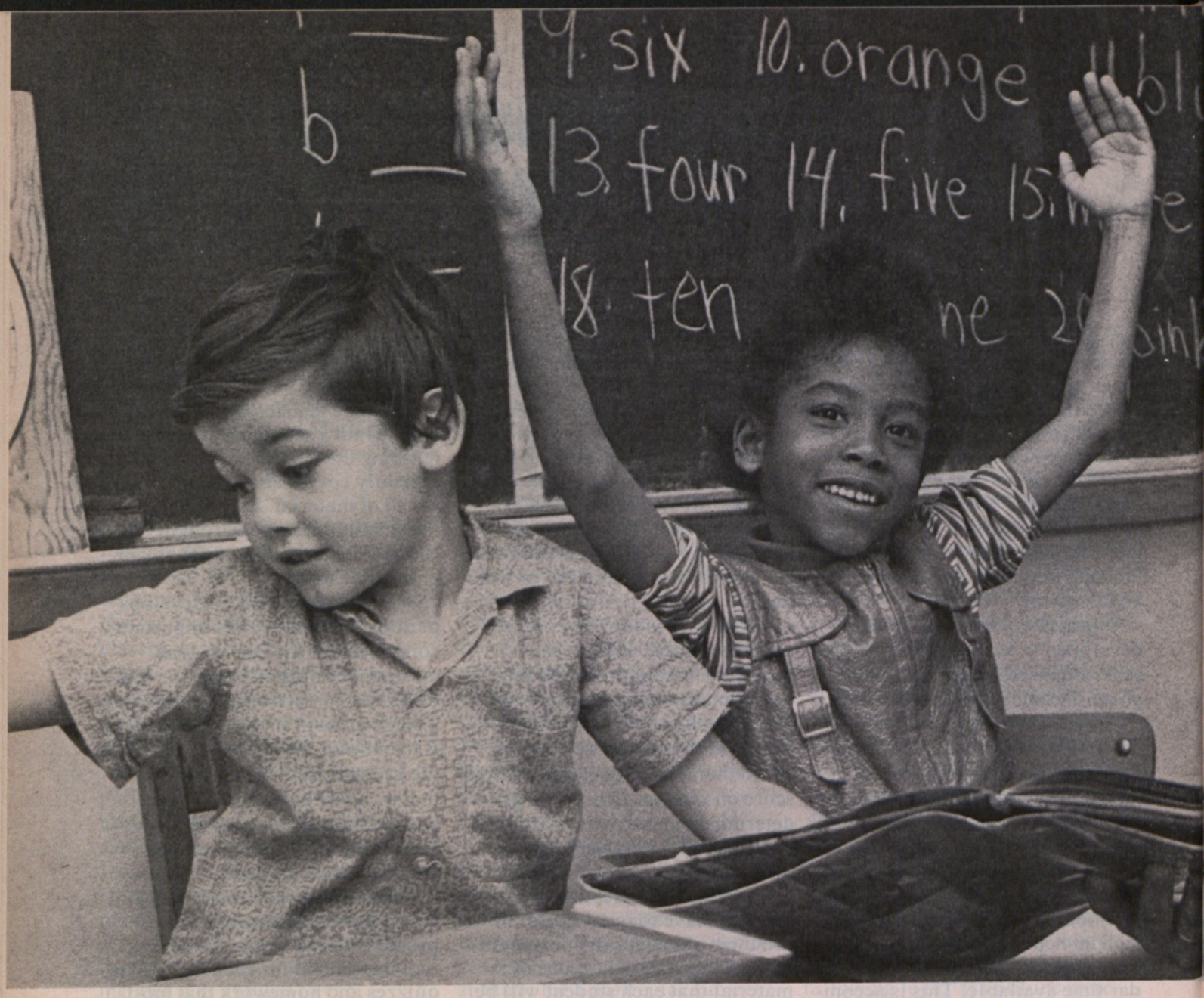
In actual practice, though, teachers have found it useful to use their old course achievement tests as working definitions of the material that each student will be expected to master. They have also found it convenient to administer one or more of these tests throughout the course for grading purposes. Finally, rather than grade the student's performance on a mastery/nonmastery basis, the teachers have found it useful to fix an absolute grading scale wherein mastery corresponds to a grade of A or B and nonmastery corresponds to a grade of C, D, or F. The teacher forms this scale by determining the level of performance that students traditionally had to exhibit on the course examinations in order to earn an A, B, C, D, or F. All students who achieve to a particular level using mastery learning methods then receive the grade that corresponds to this level.

Now, the teacher breaks his course into a sequence of smaller learning units, each of which typically covers about two weeks' worth of material. In practice, these units correspond roughly to chapters in the course textbook or to a set of topics.

Next, for each unit he develops perhaps the single most important component of the Bloom-type mastery learning strategy: the unit feedback/correction procedures. The purpose of these procedures is to monitor the effectiveness of the group-based instruction so that it can be supplemented and/or appropriately modified to better suit the learning requirements of each student.

First, the teacher constructs a brief, ungraded diagnostic-progress test or formative evaluation instrument for each unit.[8] The quizzes and homework that most teachers now use to determine how students are progressing ordinarily do not describe student learning in great enough detail to enable the teacher to prescribe what each student might do to overcome his particular learning problems. Mastery learning requires prescriptive evaluation instruments, such as these formative tests.

These tests are explicitly designed to be an integral part of each unit's instruction and to provide specific information or feedback to both the teacher and the student about how the student is changing as a result of the group-based instruction. Usually, a score



of less than 80 to 85 percent correct on these tests indicates that the student is having learning problems.

Second, the teacher now develops a set of alternative instructional materials or correctives keyed to each item on each unit formative test. All students cannot learn for mastery unless some students are provided with alternative ways of learning certain material in addition to group-based instruction.

To date, peer and cross-age tutoring and, especially, small-group study sessions in which each student has a chance to teach and be taught have proven highly effective. Alternative textbooks, workbooks, programmed instructional materials, academic games and puzzles, and selected "affective" educational exercises[9] have also been tried.

These correctives teach the material tested by each item, but they do so in ways that differ from the group-based instruction. Typically, the correctives will attempt to present the material in a different sensory mode or modes or in a different form of the same mode than the group-based instruction. And/or they will involve the student in a different way and/or provide not only different types of encouragements for learning but also different amounts of each type.

Should a student encounter difficulty in learning certain material from the group-based instruction unit, he can then use the correctives to explore alternative ways of learning the unmastered material, select those correctives best suited to his particular learning requirements, and overcome his learning problems before they impair subsequent learning.

For the *individual* teacher, the construction of these feedback/correction procedures is

◀*Peer and cross-age tutoring and, especially, small-group study sessions in which each student has a chance to teach and be taught have proven highly effective as a couple of mastery learning techniques.*

time-consuming. However, if small groups of teachers in the same subject matter area work together, we find they can develop both the formative tests and the accompanying correctives for an entire year's work by working two to three hours a day for just a few weeks. The first formative test and the relevant correctives are much harder to develop than subsequent ones.

Operating Procedures for Mastery learning—The teacher is now ready to teach. Since students are not accustomed to learning for mastery or to the notion that they all might earn A's, the teacher usually must spend some time at the course's outset orienting them to the procedures to be used. During this period, teachers have stressed the following points:

1. The student will be graded *solely* on the basis of his summative examination performance.
2. The student will be graded against predetermined performance standards and not in relation to the performance of his peers.
3. All students who attain a particular level of performance will receive the corresponding grade (hopefully an A), and there will be no fixed number of A's, B's, C's, D's, or F's.
4. Throughout the course, the student will be given a series of ungraded diagnostic-progress tests to promote and pace his learning.
5. Each student will receive all the help he needs in order to learn.

This orientation period—combined with continual encouragement, support, and positive evidence of learning success—should develop in most students the belief that they can learn and the motivation to learn.

Following the orientation period, the teacher teaches the first unit of the course using his customary group-based instructional methods. At the end of this instruction, rather than moving on to the next unit, he administers the unit formative test to determine how each student is achieving. Students score their own tests.

On the basis of the test results, the teacher certifies the progress of the students who achieved mastery of the unit (i.e., scored at or above about 80 to 85 percent correct). He encourages the students who have not achieved mastery to use the unit's correctives to complete their learning of unmastered material. These students are then responsible for using the correctives to complete their learning of the unit as soon as possible, and preferably before the group-based instruction on the next unit begins.

Typically, the students will use the correctives on their own time, except that at the beginning of the course, class time is often set aside to get students into the habit of using the correctives.

With each learning unit, the teacher repeats this cycle of group-based instruction, formative testing, and certification or correction until the course is completed. He administers summative tests as required throughout the course, although, ideally, he need give only one final examination per quarter, term, or semester.

All students who score above a certain performance level over these tests earn A's. All who perform at lower levels earn appropriately lower grades, though we usually find that when students learn by mastery methods, the number of B's and C's is small and there are virtually no D's and F's.

Some Student Learning Outcomes—In the years since publication of Bloom's learning for mastery strategy, extensive school-based mastery learning research has been carried out around the world, at all levels of education, in all types of schools,

The quizzes and homework that most teachers now use to determine how students are progressing ordinarily do not describe student learning in great enough detail to enable the teacher to prescribe what each student might do to overcome his particular learning problems.

in an increasingly wide variety of basic and more specialized subjects, and in the physical and social sciences, the humanities, and the professions, especially medicine and dentistry.

Bloom-type mastery learning strategies have been successfully used for small samples of students in classrooms where the student-teacher ratios have ranged from 20 to 30 to 1 and for large samples of up to 500,000 students where the student-teacher ratios approach and exceed 70 to 1. The strategies have even been used effectively to teach the rudiments of such advanced topics as matrix algebra, probability theory, statistics, and mathematical proof to elementary school pupils.[10]

There are some problems in interpreting the results of most of this research.[11] First, most of it comes from the more structured subjects like mathematics and the sciences, from introductory and intermediate courses, and from schools in middle socioeconomic areas. Second, the research tends to be done in the classroom rather than in the laboratory and by teachers rather than experimenters.

Third, it may tend to paint too rosy a picture of the impact that mastery learning approaches can have on student learning. This is because the research is usually published, and published research tends not to report negative results. Fourth, the research sometimes comes from projects wherein it is difficult to determine whether mastery learning ideas have actually been applied. Finally, the research is so voluminous that one runs the risk of overinterpretation *or* underinterpretation simply because important studies might not have been unearthed.

Taking all the problems into account, however, the following statement seems fair:[12]

In general, two to three times as many students who have learned a particular subject by mastery methods have achieved A's, B's, or their equivalent as have students who have learned the same subject by more conventional, group-based instructional methods.

Thus, if 25 percent of a group of students earned A's and B's when learning by an ordinary, group-based nonmastery instructional method, then, typically, 50 to 75 percent of a similar group earned A's and B's when learning by group-based mastery methods. The data also indicate that mastery approaches to instruction can drastically cut the number of those receiving C's, D's, and F's.

So far, we have considered the effects of mastery learning strategies on the cognitive or intellectual aspects of student learning. There is also a growing body of evidence of the impact of these strategies on the affective or emotional aspects of student learning.

At least in the short run, mastery approaches to learning can yield greater student interest in and more positive attitudes toward the topics learned than can nonmastery approaches, although if students are asked to master a subject too well, this may eventually turn them off.[13] Mastery approaches can also generate in students increased confidence in their ability to learn. Finally, students really enjoy learning by mastery approaches.

There have been no studies of the effects of mastery learning approaches on affective traits that develop over long periods of time, such as self-concept and mental health. Related research suggests, however, that the provision of repeated successful short-term learning experiences might help shape long-term constructive attitudes toward school and toward learning in general and might help develop a positive academic self-concept.[14] More speculative research suggests that the provision of a long history of positive school learning experiences may even help to partially immunize students against school-induced mental and emotional disorders.[15]

Last, but not least, mastery approaches to learning have yielded some evidence—primarily anecdotal and impressionistic—that they are helping students learn how to learn. This evidence is of at least three different types.

First, many students who have learned for mastery using a wide variety of correctives apparently become more accustomed to the notion that there are many ways to learn besides from lectures and textbooks. I have been especially intrigued with how often students turn to other students for aid and assistance and with how they come to exhibit increased cooperation and decreasing competition in their learning.

Second, students who have learned for mastery have been observed to become more careful and selective in their learning. On

the one hand, they do more informal formative evaluation and, thereby, gain some measure of quality control over their learning and their study habits. On the other hand, they also spend more time actively engaged with the material to be learned rather than with extraneous material or with nonlearning activities.

Third, the students who have learned for mastery have been observed to generate their own learning rewards (e.g., the chance to tutor a peer) rather than relying only on those rewards the teacher might provide. Work is presently under way to study each of these phenomena in more detail. It may well be the case that this research will provide a far more compelling case for the classroom use of mastery learning than even the past research.

Implications for the Teacher—What, then, are the implications of mastery learning for the role of classroom teacher?

By adopting the view that all can learn and by defining mastery, the teacher is essentially determining what ought to be or to occur in his classroom. Similarly, by adopting the view that all will learn and then using feedback/correction procedures to reach mastery, the teacher is translating these "oughts" into concrete materials, plans, and actions.

Since we call such conceptions of what ought to be "values," the first implication of mastery learning for the teacher is that he get accustomed to explicit valuing. That is, the teacher must not only determine what ought to be so in his classroom, but he must also get used to making these oughts explicit in how and what he teaches.

To value something in the abstract or in private may be relatively easy; to make one's values concrete and public is much more difficult, because this opens one up to possible criticism by those who disagree with one's values. This is especially true where, as in mastery learning, many of the values (e.g., everyone can and will learn) to which the teacher explicitly ascribes may be at loggerheads with the values held by his colleagues and superiors.

Besides valuing, therefore, the mastery learning teacher must stand ready to justify the values represented in his instruction. The mastery learning teacher, for example, can expect to be required to defend his grading standards when perhaps 80 percent of his students earn A's.

Another implication of mastery learning is that the teacher needs to exercise a measure of quality control in his teaching.

One dimension of his responsibility in this area is the use of feedback/correction procedures to pinpoint and to overcome student learning problems. Time after time, when a mastery learning strategy fails, it fails not because the teacher has not prepared appropriate feedback/correction procedures but because he did not implement them. In particular, the teacher has a tendency to fail to induce students to correct the learning difficulties revealed by formative testing.

The second dimension of the teacher's quality control responsibility is the monitoring of the effectiveness of his instruction from one cycle of his course to the next. Often the teacher can improve the quality of his instruction during one cycle of his course by using the formative test results and other information from the previous cycle as his benchmarks. And by using one year's results as a quality control check on the next, the teacher can have a greater impact on more and more students' learning over the years.

For example, by noting which items on each unit formative test most students answered correctly and incorrectly, the teacher can determine the material for which the group-based instruction was generally effective and for which it was not. He can then tally the types of correctives to which the students turned for supplementary instruction on this material. After studying how these correctives present the material or involve the students or encourage their learning, the teacher can revise his original instruction accordingly to teach this material better in the future.

Regardless of the quality control procedure one adopts, not even the best mastery learning strategies will help all students earn A's the first cycle. Only through the cycle-by-cycle exercise of some quality control procedures can the teacher eventually ensure that as many students as possible earn A's.

The final implication of mastery learning for the role of classroom

teacher is that the teacher must do more communicating and cooperating with his colleagues and students. In regard to colleagues, this increased communication and cooperation will yield at least two benefits. First, it can allay some of their misgivings and guard against the possibility that what one is doing will be misperceived. Second, as noted previously, it can cut the work load required to construct feedback/correction procedures.

In regard to the students, increased cooperation and communication can have several salutary effects. First, it can smooth the introduction of mastery learning ideas into the classroom. Students can provide invaluable feedback to the teacher about what they like and do not like about a particular mastery strategy and about how the strategy might be changed.

Second, it can help to implement a successful strategy. There is no reason why students in a mastery learning situation cannot be trusted to perform many activities that the teacher would ordinarily perform. Students might correct their own formative tests, construct their own correctives, and tutor each other.

Third, increased cooperation and communication can create a learning environment in which students see themselves as having a stake. I would hazard the guess that no learning environment can have a dramatic impact on students' learning unless they perceive themselves as belonging.

I hope that these implications do not convey the impression that mastery learning is difficult to achieve in the classroom. It is not. My point in broaching them is simply to suggest that mastery learning is not a painless panacea.

Associated with teaching by mastery learning methods are certain costs as well as manifold benefits for students and, most of all, for teachers. Each teacher will have to decide whether the chance to have a clear and consistent positive impact on most of his students' learning is worth the effort and energy that teaching for mastery requires. □

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On Busing and Race Relations

By THOMAS F. PETTIGREW
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□ **Busing has become the political** battleground of American race relations in the 1970's. A curious historian looking back upon this racial era from the perspective of the next century will have to dig hard to sort out the pieces of this mania to back the clock on racial change.

Our future historian will note that by 1972, about 20 million pupils (43 percent of the total enrollment of public schools) were being regularly transported to school at public expense, a massive effort that requires 262,000 vehicles traveling 2.2 billion miles at a cost of $1.5 billion annually. By 1919, all the then 48 states had authorized transportation of students to school at public expense. About 20 states today even permit the transportation of students to private schools at public expense. Clearly, then, America has no objection to the busing of schoolchildren *per se*.

The political issue arises only when the transportation is designed to further the racial desgregation of schools. It has been estimated that in 1971-72 only 3 percent of all bused students were transported for desegregation, and there is good reason to believe, according to the Metropolitan Applied Research Center in New York City, that more public funds are still expended for transportation to intentionally *segregated* schools rather than to intentionally integrated ones.

Likewise, the dangers of bus accidents have been stressed for this 3 percent but ignored for the remaining 97 percent who are transported for "acceptable" reasons. Actually, relevant data indicate that the school bus is by far the safest mode of transportation. Indeed, the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission said that schoolchildren in that state were over three times safer per mile being bused to school rather than going by foot.

So why the national excitement? The movement ostensibly against busing has been forming over the past five years and gained momentum once federal judges in a number of key cities ordered busing solutions to correct urban patterns of widespread school segregation by race in situations where other alternatives were not available. Survey data show, too, that once President Nixon explicitly legitimized the movement, it rose in strength even among "moderate" white Americans.

While 41 percent of a national sample of adult Americans told Harris Survey interviewers in early 1971 that they were unwilling to see schoolchildren bused for integration in their communities, 69 percent were unwilling by March of 1972. Responses to a slightly different question about busing for racial balance revealed—not surprisingly—that opposition was most intense in the Deep South and among whites. Fifty-two percent of blacks *favored* busing for racial balance in 1972 and 34 percent opposed it. In sharp contrast, by an overwhelming margin of 83 percent to 15 percent, parents whose children are bused to school [for largely nonracial reasons] are satisfied with the arrangement.

Despite insistent denials, then, our future historian is likely to conclude that busing became in our time the polite, culturally sanctioned way to oppose the racial desegregation of the public schools. "It's not the distance," stated a white mother candidly, "it's the niggers." □

♦ *This brief article by Dr. Pettigrew is excerpted from his speech on "The Case for the Racial Integration of Schools," delivered at the Cubberley Conference at Stanford University in June 1973.*

TEENAGE GROUP PRESSURES

In the 1960's

☐ **The pressure of The Group is** strong in any period. There was a new kind of pressure affecting us during the 60's, though—not just the push toward conformity and the fear and distrust that people have by nature (and that public schools seem to reinforce) of anything that's different. In the 50's, I think, groups pretty rigidly conformed, but they were undiscriminating too. The 60's were a more critical-minded, sophisticated time, full of more negative adjectives than lavish superlatives, a time when it was easier to do things wrong than to do them right. Products, ourselves, of hours spent listening to TV commercials, we had become comparative shoppers, suspicious and demanding, minutely analyzing one another's actions and appearances.

We knew each other's faces and bodies and wardrobes so well that any change was noticed at once, the fuel for endless notes. That's why I dressed so carefully mornings. I was about to face the scrutiny of 15 gossip-seeking girls and 10 only slightly less observant boys ready to imitate my voice and walk. At every moment—even at home, with no one but family there—I'd be conscious of what the other kids, The Group, would think if they could see me. They ruled over us all—and over each other—like a supreme court.

To be popular, like having a "good sense of humor" or a "great personality," has always seemed to me one of the doubtful virtues ascribed to cheerleaders in yearbooks.

Although popularity is a word I've never warmed up to, I recognized the results of it every time we chose up teams in gym, every time there was a dance or a field trip. One could tell from where we sat in the lunchroom—the tables of girls with too-long dresses and hair that curled in the bent, squared-off way that came from using bobby pins; the tables of matching mohair skirts and sweaters, and shoulder bags bursting with notes and cosmetics—the girls who had only their failures in common and the ones who sat together in victory, feasting. Some tables, a few, were boy-girl, but mostly there was segregation—the boys set apart from the girls, and the popular from those who weren't.

Oddly, we all knew our places, what seats we were destined to sit in. I remember once when a lunch-hour bake sale took away three tables, leaving a group of confused ninth graders with voices not yet changed and legs too long for their elastic-waisted corduroy trousers. They moved one table back to where the senior boys, the ones with flasks of bourbon in their lunch bags, normally sat. Like a delicate marshland environment, our whole ecology, our structure, collapsed that day.

How do kids decide, as they invariably do, which people to admire and which ones to ignore or laugh at? It's more than looks (good looks often happen after popularity, in the happy confidence that comes from admiration). Anyway, beauty, real beauty, wasn't all that successful at my school, any more than grades over B+ were. Cuteness, on the other hand, was fine—for girls *and* boys—especially in junior high, when too much tough male handsomeness comes frighteningly close to big-league sex.

If nobody especially longed to be anything as uncomfortably extreme as *beautiful*, everybody, but everybody, very much wanted to be good-looking. Most of us thought it had a lot to do with clothes and makeup. But the instincts—to know *which* makeup, how to look as if you really didn't care and it was just by accident that peach blusher brushed across your cheeks—that was the rare thing that, unlike looks, you had to be born with.

Some girls would try too hard and end up with lipstick on their teeth and a place around the jawline where, like a mask, the makeup color ended and the skin began.

Sometimes the body alone killed one's chances to be good-looking or attractive. There were girls whose legs and arms were boyish. There were girls who, from third grade on, hunched over with the weight and shame of early bras. I remember the moment, each September in the locker room, when we pulled off our shirts and revealed just what had happened over the summer and just who would join the club. For some, that moment came too early and for others, like me, it came fatally late.

Even boys' not bumping into me as we passed in the halls came to seem a compliment.

The way athletic competence had been distributed among us always fascinated me. It happened too often to be a coincidence that the same people who were cool and cute-looking and bright (in an unthreatening way)—and popular—were the ones who got picked first, were, in fact, the captains of the teams. Their grace—no, it was ease, really, and confidence—seemed to be transferable from one part of life to another. The line between winners and losers cut through all phases of school life almost from kindergarten on, and to cross it was as hard as kicking the ball past the goal posts.

The very way you walked was important, not to the ones who did it right—they never had to think about it or to practice; their shoes were never worn more on one side than on the other—but to the ones who didn't, the ones who bounced or swayed or slumped. I was aware of almost every step I took, imagined heavy clumping sounds. I envied ballerinas and studied the girls at school whose walking I admired to see just how they swung their arms and where they put their chins and shoulders.

That was something I did a lot—checking to see how the others, the very popular ones, did things—how they chewed their lunch-box carrot sticks, whether they wore loafers with pennies in them or not (not—penny loafers were corny), and whether, on rainy days, they put on rubbers or got their feet soaked. But no matter what I learned from my study of The Popular, I seemed to be forever one step out of time.

Never positively unpopular, I hung around the fringes, moving in just occasionally to become a student council secretary or dance decorations chairman. The logical train of thought that put me in office was the same kind by which people assume that if a man paints still lifes and landscapes well, surely he can do walls and fences; if I could write poetry—awful stuff, too—surely I'd be perfect for writing minutes.

By fifth or sixth grade I had learned that new haircuts and bobby-pin curls and red underpants would make no difference, and I became almost humble, flattered when a boy or a big kid (seventh grade) called me by name, because it meant that he acknowledged my existence. Even boys' not bumping into me as we passed in the halls came to seem a compliment. They saw me, they had not ignored me, and they—those celebrities whose discarded lunch bags, even, seemed special to me—they had altered their course down the hallway to allow for *me*.

—Joyce Maynard.

♦ *This article has been excerpted from the book* Looking Back: A Chronicle of Growing Old in the Sixties *© 1972, 1973 by Joyce Maynard. Published by Doubleday & Company, Inc. The two articles reacting to it were written especially for* Today's Education.

In the 1970's

☐ **"What does it take to be popular in the 70's?"** I asked a group of girls between classes in my high school. They gave me such an odd look that I quickly mumbled something to the effect that I had been asked to write an article on this topic for *Today's Education,* a magazine for teachers.

"Oh. Well," they said in near unison, "you've got to be yourself. No doubt about that."

"But are people themselves?" I continued.

"Oh no," they said matter-of-factly. "Everybody is too scared to be. They're afraid of what people would think."

I moved on, pondering on this. If one has to be oneself to be popular, and no one is brave enough to be that, then no one is popular. I decided that perhaps popularity in the 70's is nonexistent, at least at West High. Either that, or it had been reduced down to a level of masks and falsities.

As I talked to other students, I was surprised that everyone had some definite idea of what it means to be popular. The consensus around West High seems to be that it involves not sitting home on Friday and Saturday, and having a crowd of friends. But where do you find a crowd?

I think there are more groups now than before. I remember when I was in seventh and eighth grade, there was one definite group of people I particularly wanted to be a part of. They were exclusive—"popular" people who were good in gym and didn't par-

ticularly study at nights. But it's not like that anymore. These days, getting in with a crowd isn't very difficult because similar types of people naturally group together, and in the 70's it seems that more types are around.

With drugs hitting hard in high schools, the groups can be very loosely categorized as either "straight" or "not straight." (Oddly enough, the students that do use drugs regularly just come across as tougher than those who do not. Kids can single them out more readily than authorities can.) The terms used to refer to those who drank or abstained. Today, however, drinking is a great common factor, as it were. All kinds of students drink: Singers on chorus trips drink, senior homecoming queen candidates drink—one could go on and on.

The straights cluster around such extracurricular activities as sports, music, art, and drama, which are not for everyone because they require some sort of skill.

The jocks are the sporty people that have survived from my junior high days. The girls are cute and worry about diets; the boys are muscular and good-looking. Every Monday, they are the ones lounging in the halls talking about wild parties that occurred over the weekend.

They are also the most critical. They are the ones that make me feel awkward in gym or grubby in jeans. They judge people quickly, and their snap judgments and gut reactions tend to become too permanent.

The not straights are more on the tough side. Whereas the jocks will break training rules and drink at parties, the "freaks" and "hoods" will break the law and get stoned at parties. Appearance is unimportant to them, but they lean toward the fright factor, and as one of my friends puts it, "You bruise just looking at them."

Groups are terribly demanding. You must conform to the unspoken demands of your group in any way they ask: appearance, attitudes, and opinions.

With drugs, smoking, sex, and alcohol rampaging even into junior high and grade school these days, pressures are incredibly hard on the teenager.

Guys aren't interested in a too innocent, giggling female, but neither do they appreciate an intellectual one. Girls are asked to hit a hard medium that frequently leads to drugs and sex. But, it seems that most teenagers don't really care anymore. They think less about doing what is "right" and "wrong" and think more about doing what is "fun."

As for popularity, teenagers don't try for that the way they used to. Popularity—if there is such a phenomenon—is much more something that just "happens" in high school.

—Jessie Dolch, *senior, West High School, Iowa City.*

♦ *Inasmuch as the articles by Miss Maynard and Miss Dolch deal with only one segment of the teenage population—white, middle-class girls—the editors invite teachers to have other students write us about the pressures they experience.*

As a Psychiatrist Sees Them

By JOSEPH D. NOSHPITZ, M.D.
Psychiatrist; Director, Clinical Institute, Hillcrest Children's Center, Washington, DC.

☐ **If we are to make any sense** out of the group experience of our adolescents, we have to know something about why the youngsters turn to groups so avidly in the first place and cling to them so urgently. The teenage group is not a mere accident or a chance product of our culture. It is an almost universal finding, typical of youth the world over.

As we study this youth group attachment, we find that a number of emotional dynamos power it. To begin with, there is the flight from adults. It is not altogether self-evident why these youngsters should need to distance themselves from grown-ups. After all, why don't they just sit back and learn from the adult world and accept its teachings comfortably?

To understand why they do not, we have to start by recognizing that, with puberty, both boys and girls have powerful new sexual feelings and aggressive capabilities. These capabilities beget yearnings for others, including father and mother. Adults, therefore, become suddenly dangerous because our most ancient and powerful taboos forbid us even to think sexually about close adults, and the incest ban is a vivid factor in adolescent life. (It's vivid enough for the adults too and has something to do with their attitudes toward teenage sex.)

As a result, the maturing adolescent tends to push away

from the close and important grown-ups. He doesn't want to be anywhere near people who could conceivably be objects of forbidden sexual or dangerous aggressive wishes, and so he tears asunder many of the close bonds of earlier years, gets a good long psychological distance apart, and wants to strike out on his own.

Because one doesn't easily give up what have been the closest and most vital bonds for many years, there's pain in this, and loneliness. All at sea, the youngster looks for some recourse. What better solution can he find than to seek out others—others equally bereft, equally separated, who are going through what he is going through, who will understand? Seek them out and he has surcease from loneliness, he has companionship, he has a group.

In addition to the need to fly from dangerous older folks, the youth has another kind of problem. He/she faces change, change in body, change in mind. Height, looks, body contours, voice, body hair, breasts, penis, skin, voice, everything is different. Everything is changing and, worried, the teenager thinks, How will it all come out? Will I be fat or lean, pretty or plain, pimpled or clear? Will I be tall, short, big-hipped, big-breasted? Will my buttocks bulge?

And on and on for a thousand uncertainties, a thousand questions that hurt. But since everyone else in the group is growing and is stuggling equally with all these issues, what better place is there to bring the worries, with whom else to face the pain? So the group becomes a central focus for some very powerful emotions that deal with hard-to-express issues. As far as one's family goes, all that's likely to be thought and felt and said at home is that one wants to be with one's friends and what's the matter with that?

With the changes and the flight and the new growth, the youngster is no longer the child he was, but neither is he the person he presently will be. He is in the middle. As a result, often enough, he doesn't know who he is or what he is, the clearest feeling of all is a profound sense of inner doubt. And that is a most uncomfortable feeling. He doesn't feel at home in his body, he has new emotions that are exciting and pleasurable as well as guilt-evoking and fearful, and he has no clear idea why he feels and thinks the way he does.

Such a situation, if carried on for any length of time with no easing and no relief, would reduce him to an emotional jelly. He has to find an answer, and find an answer he does: He puts on an identity, he plays a role if you will, or a series of roles, he strikes poses, and, bit by bit, he develops a new sense of self, a new "whoness." And this saves him, because as long as he is someone, he's first of all not no one, and he is second of all not the child he was.

He is someone new, original—himself. But that too is a mixed blessing, because maybe the self he is isn't any good. He looks at all the bright shiny new selves everyone else has, then looks at his "personality" and asks, How does mine compare? It is in the group that the sense of self finally gets its definitive character.

Within the group, new strengths are born. There is reflecting back and forth and the creation of a new image of who to be and how to be. The group saves the teenager from anonymity: He belongs to something and has a place as a group member. The group saves him from loneliness, because he is, after all, part of a crowd.

It also gives him a model; he sees, and talks, and walks, and comforts himself in the group-approved fashion. And it supports his need to be parent-unlike. He uses teen talk, dresses in teen clothes, does his hair the teen way, dances teen dances, and in every possible way maximizes the fact that he is part of this and not of that, that he follows this code and not that one, that he has this teenage group-connected self and, hence, little need for that "infantile," parent-concocted personality.

Alas for the youngster who is an outsider, who can't make it with his/her peers, who has problems in group attachment! His teens are likely to hurt and to be remembered for many years with sober sadness. For in his case, no less than for the "popular" youth, the distancing from parents is just as inevitable and just as necessary. In his case, however, the lack of anywhere to attach and cling to in this time of hurricane change means that he is infinitely lonely, always at the mercy of unnameable feelings, and with no comfortable social niche in which to perch and rest and recover strength.

Because he has excluded the adult world and feels excluded by the other kids, his identity experiments are made alone, with only a mirror for company. Often the only factor that wards off total

emotional disaster is to take recourse in himself, in daydreams, in masturbation, in something inner and personal.

A somewhat better answer is the possibility of having one good friend. Just one can be enough. It keeps the howling loneliness at bay; there's someone to measure identities with; and the feeling that at least one person accepts this new awkward impossible self—that someone finds him likable, or at least acceptable—prevents total self-hatred.

Not that the popular youngster is always so happy. He may have more support than his wallflower cousin, but he too may suffer excruciating pangs of uncertainty and self-doubt. His popularity is more than just fun and games; emotionally it is often essential to his survival.

Getting together in groups is a universal phenomenon and is present in every generation. But the matter of what a teenager does or what the group does with the powerful sexual and aggressive drives that are part of the epoch—this can vary from one generation to another, from one decade to another, from one year to another.

One year, the high school kids were bantering or passive with the school administration; the next year, they were protesting and demonstrating with great force. For one generation, words like *purity, chastity,* and *virginity* were profoundly moving and had great impact; for the next, they were seldom employed and considered antique or, at best, of only minor significance in determining the actual behavior of many youngsters.

In any case, every year and every generation will provide youngsters with a spectrum of choices. Joyce Maynard's description of the tables in the high school cafeteria is very apt. One can sit with the brains, the hoods, the jocks, the pot smokers, the Jesus freaks, the speed freaks, or what you will. One can also change and move from one group to another as growth and development dictate. There are always alternative possibilities.

No doubt, as one goes through the 1950's and the 60's and the 70's, the emphasis will be found to have shifted in a variety of ways—sometimes, for example, toward kids of a radical persuasion and other times toward those of a conservative stance. But the nature of group connectedness is so basic that it makes no sense to think of it as something that's different in each generation.

What does vary, however, is the basic style of relationship: the degree to which one whispers one's rebellion or shouts it; the level of serious sexual action versus bantering or humorous or furtive-shy sexual play among the group members; the participation in smoking, drinking, pot, etc. versus having sports or drama or academics as the official center of adolescent group life.

In the light of this we may well ask: What makes for the differences? The answer is: We don't know. As an informed guess, however, one could say that the nature of the surrounding culture is a critical variable. Where the social value-set is firm, traditional, and reasonably consistent, you have one kind of adolescence. Where it is shifting, changing, and uncertain, you get quite another.

The adolescent is peculiarly vulnerable to value vectors, which hit him with enormous force. When the religious principles, the political authorities, the family structure, and the sexual mores are all in question, the adolescent in his group will look very different from the figure he will cut when everyone knows where God, the government, and one's moral values are properly and exactly located.

In conclusion: It is indeed true that there are changes from generation to generation, and they seem to be the result of inner eternal need systems impacting on outer, variable social structures. But, the shifts we see matter far less than the samenesses. The shifts are merely one pen stroke on the long scroll of current history. They tell us that in every generation adolescents have special needs that have to be specially met, and the only problem is: How well can we help them grow up?

Particularly during times of change, parents as well as teachers and other meaningful adults need to keep their values as firm and steady as they can so that the youngsters will have something solid to which to cling even though they may mock and deride it. (For specifics of what teachers can do with regard to the values of youth, see pages 49-55 of this issue.) Given this solidity, teen groups will experiment with the meaning of family values and with variations on this principal theme; lacking this, these groups will have to go out and invent or create their own values, and far more deviant behavior is likely to come out as a result. □

AN INTERVIEW WITH WALTER JAMES ON

Britain's Open University

By **JUNE GRANT SHANE**
Professor of Education, and
HAROLD G. SHANE
University Professor of Education, Indiana University, Bloomington.

☐ *Since 1971 the British Open University—probably the most important innovation in higher education in the past 20 years—has pioneered imaginative approaches to a lifelong learning continuum. What has happened during the first three years of its existence? What has been learned? What has changed?*

To answer these questions, we took the train from London to Bletchley, near which the Open University stands in quiet, rural Buckinghamshire. By good fortune, we had arranged to interview Walter James, dean of the Faculty of Educational Studies and one of the four original members of a staff that now draws on the talents of thousands of academics, writers, producers, and technicians. Our interview follows.

Q. What does *Open University* mean as you use the term?

A. It means that students have open access to our programs if they are over the age of 21. [Beginning in January 1974, applicants between the ages of 18 and 21 will be accepted for degree courses.] Even when our judgments about them suggest they may not succeed, there is no selection process other than first come, first served.

Q. Is there any parallel between the Open University and open enrollment, which permits students in the United States to enter higher education when they do not meet conventional requirements?

A. While I would not like to make the comparison, I think one difference is that our system has been expressly designed to provide widespread access to education. It doesn't try to fit students into an elitist system. Also, I think we avoid your problem of having some students with learning difficulties being asked to tag along with those who haven't got them. Furthermore, our students are perhaps more mature and more motivated than some who come to your institutions.

Q. Please tell us the story behind the Open University.

A. It's really a very simple story. Political decisions in a small island are different from those in a country of the vastness of America. Harold Wilson proposed the idea in a speech he made in Glasgow in 1963. When he became Prime Minister, he asked Jennie (now Baroness) Lee to chair a group of people to determine whether it was feasible to teach at the higher education level by the combination of broadcast and correspondence instruction, plus some face-to-face instruction. They advised the Department of Education and Science that it could be done and so a committee was set up to plan the Open University.

Two points were recognized: First, a lot of people with the potential for higher education had

The student does not enroll with us for a degree; he enrolls for courses. This is the Open-University concept of continuing education.

not received it; second, because of changes caused by galloping technology, more people needed more opportunities for recurrent education at various stages of their careers than we had been providing.

Q. How long did all the preliminary activities take?

A. The Planning Committee was established in 1967, the government accepted its report in 1969, and in 1971 the University opened with 25,000 students. A remarkably short period of time!

Q. We understand that your present undergraduate student body is approaching 40,000. Where will it top off?

A. It depends to some extent on the level of funding. It could make sound economic sense to have an upper limit of 60,000 students at midterm but the decision is ultimately the Government's, since they provide the resources.

Q. What are your students like? Where do they come from and how do you recruit them?

A. Let me change the order of your questions. We are simply trying to obtain people who can benefit from higher education. We have people over 80 years of age who are doing quite successfully. In fact, a former Lord Chancellor of England, who is over 60 and is a distinguished legal figure, has enrolled as a student in the Open University.

We try to find students by a variety of means. We have an Information Department which seeks to bring us to the attention of the educationally underprivileged. If, for example, a housewife and mother of young children succeeds at the University, you can be sure that we try to feature her in the local newspaper to attract others like her to enroll.

Q. With so varied a body of students, what kinds of programs do you offer?

A. At the moment there are three in operation: the undergraduate program; postexperiences courses serving 5,600 students which were begun in 1973 for persons who wish to change occupations or update their knowledge; and a postgraduate program for people who want to study for a higher degree.

The undergraduate program is the one most fully in operation, with 40,000 students enrolled as of January 1973. It has courses in six major areas: the arts, social sciences, science, technology, mathematics, and educational studies. If a student wants to, he can select a program from the entire spectrum.

Q. Are "educational studies" similar to what we would call "teacher education" in the States?

A. Yes, but some people who are not planning to be professionals in education study it! This is significant in a climate where education is, quite properly, becoming more and more recognized as a community affair.

Q. Do you offer a complete teacher education program?

A. No. Students do not qualify solely on what we give them. Before they can be qualified as teachers, they need to take a year's postgraduate certificate elsewhere after they get our degree.

Q. Please trace for us some of the experiences a student has as he progresses toward the baccalaureate degree.

A. I should say, first of all, that the student does not enroll with us for a degree; he enrolls for courses. This is the Open-University concept of continuing education. If he takes certain kinds of courses at certain levels and if they add up to an appropriate number, then he is awarded a degree—if he claims it. The basic purpose of the Open University is to provide courses at the higher education level. In this sense, the B.A. degree is of secondary importance.

Q. Would we, as citizens of the United States, be able to enroll for continuing education even if we already held doctoral degrees?

A. Yes, as long as you lived in the United Kingdom. We do, however, use a quota system to restrict the number of people who already hold degrees so as to reduce our backlog of people who have no degree.

Q. Can you describe what happens once a student has enrolled?

A. Yes. After he has sent us a letter of inquiry or has phoned in, we send him an applicant's guidebook. He looks through it and decides if the Open University is really for him. If he thinks it is, he fills out an application form and indicates what he wants to take.

He meets with an admissions

counselor who discusses with him whether or not his application is realistic, but he is accepted anyway if he has applied early enough and if the course quotas were not filled before he applied.

Q. What happens next?

A. The student is notified who his part-time tutor is and also is assigned a counselor to help with any study problems. The tutor is the person to whom the student sends his assignments and who offers face-to-face instruction.

In January, he starts his University course. This begins with a tremendous thud of a package coming to his mailbox. We send out 30 tons of mail each week, and last year nearly two-and-a-half million packages were delivered to students.

Q. And what are the contents?

A. The first individual package contains instructional notes to students, broadcast schedules, and probably a book containing the first four units of the course. Units are arranged on a weekly schedule, and each is supposed to engage a student for about 10 hours.

Sending packages in installments keeps cost down if students drop out, and somewhere between 20 and 25 percent of first-year students do drop out. Keep in mind, however, that the student is only conditionally registered in January and has until April to make up his mind that the system is for him. If he decides to continue, he is registered and pays the last installment on his fee.

Q. Please tell us more about how the student goes about his work.

A. During his study time, he watches television and listens to radio programs, reads the correspondence text sent to him, and engages in additional reading and activities. Some of his assignments are self-assessing so he can recognize whether he is on the right track. Others are computer-marked, objective tests or essays that are marked and commented on by the tutor. In October or November, the student takes an examination at the end of the course. Graces, which determine whether or not students will be awarded a credit, are based both on their continuous assignments during the course and on the final examination.

Q. One of the problems of continuing education in the United States is that of library facilities. Do you have this problem and, if so, how do you cope with it?

A. While it is the students' responsibility to locate books and materials, we have a close liaison with all the professional associations concerned with libraries, and the libraries have been cooperative. When we notify them very early of the books and tests we are recommending, they often get additional copies. Sometimes librarians put aside a part of the premises for use by Open University students.

We also try to negotiate with publishers to produce at cheaper cost certain books we will be using, pointing out that they can expect guaranteed sales to our students. We've had great cooperation from publishers—motivated by more than mere commercial considerations.

Q. Can students transfer credits? For example, if a student has completed two years of work with you, can he transfer his credits to, say, the University of London or the University of Bristol? Could he take examinations and obtain advanced standing?

A. Not at the moment, and this is one of the tragedies of the United Kingdom system. It has more than 40 autonomous universities, many of which do not give advanced standing. Solving this problem is on the agenda of higher education in this country.

Q. You mean that a person who had completed work at Oxford, for example, could not transfer to Cambridge?

A. It would be difficult, if not impossible. But let me add that the Open University has received no special discrimination from other universities. I think we were looked upon with grave suspicion at first—the fear being that we would dilute higher education. The suspicion vanished largely, I suspect, because we were able to call on academics from these institutions to create our learning materials—people who contributed their expertise no matter where they were located.

We use a lot of people here—consultants, course assessors, external examiners. There is more access for outside academics here than in any other institution.

Q. In other words, you may have professors from Cambridge

We send out 30 tons of mail each week, and last year nearly two-and-a-half million packages were delivered.

or Oxford working with the Open University?

A. Yes, of course. A professor could refuse, but we find a great willingness to help us. In fact, many persons are interested in learning firsthand how we go about our business. For example, I may allocate to the production of a half-credit course five academics with professional support from the media—broadcast producers and so forth. Then I virtually say, "Go away for a year and a quarter and produce the material needed to engage the students for 170 hours."

In other universities, a man prepares a course singlehandedly and is not given resources on this scale. Here we have a great pool of team resources. It is the team, not the individual, that does the job. We couldn't accomplish what we do without the combined expertise of many persons. And the television and radio producers have as much right as anyone to inveigh against or to veto academic material if they do not like it—just as the academics influence their production work.

Q. Exactly how do the media mesh with and contribute to the Open University?

A. In most classrooms elsewhere, there is a man in the middle who has looked at reality and then tries to mediate and communicate it to students. Television and radio give us the opportunity to remove the middle man from center stage. He does his work before the program goes on the air, structuring that reality so that the student can now *directly* experience it.

Now we haven't quite eliminated the middle man, but we did broadcast one program (on urban life in Chicago) that didn't have an obtrusive studio commentator's voice during the whole 25-minute program. We are not just translating the classroom on a screen.

Q. How accessible are radio and TV broadcasts to the students?

A. At present, there are only three television networks in the whole country, and the pressure for TV time is great. During the week, all Open-University programs are now on BBC 2 between 5:00 or 5:30 to 7:30 in the evening. We do have more time now on weekends, and next year we're moving into breakfast-time broadcasting, which I'm not sure will be a howling success.

Q. Is there any way you can estimate approximate per student costs in the Open University?

A. The teaching method of the Open University is extremely economical in comparison with other modes of adult education. The cost of providing an Open University course for one student for one year is approximately £200, compared to an equivalent cost of £1,000 per year for a residential student in university education. Even if it is assumed that the average Open University student spends twice as long over his degree as does a full-time one, the cost of educating each Open University student is clearly well under half that of educating a student in orthodox residential education. [Throughout the article, pounds are converted to dollars at the approximate rate of exchange this past summer — £ 1 = $2.50.]

Q. Then would you say that thrift is an argument in favor of the Open University?

A. Definitely. The people in the Department of Education and Science recognize that we can make a useful contribution to expanding provision for higher education whilst keeping costs down during a period of violent inflation. We also defray part of University costs through fees and the sale of our course unit books, films, and tapes.

Q. You mean you have a sales department for the Open University courses and materials?

A. Yes, we have signed up now with agencies to cover the whole world. There is already a large sale of our materials in the States. In fact, four of your universities are developing pilot programs to see if our courses can be related to your credit hour system. They are Rutgers, Maryland, Houston, and California State at San Diego.

Q. Are your materials expensive?

A. No, I don't think so. For first-year students, books and home experiment kits vary in cost from one pound ($2.50) to 15 pounds ($37.50). The films and audiotapes are not expensive unless they are prepared for use with a small group of students. We are concerned with *mass* higher education, and it is here that economies are created.

Q. What is the academic profile

of your regular faculty? We are asking about instructors who see students and also those who create course material.

A. We have a small permanent group of academics on our campus here—actually about 200—who are creating courses. Then we have a staff who I hope will not be insulted if we call them "hybrids." They help develop courses and help in making our materials good for teaching and learning. We call them staff tutors, and they work mainly in our 15 Regions. They recruit, orient, instruct, and supervise the vast array of part-time tutors that we need.

At first, we thought of recruitment of part-time people as a purely administrative task, but we quickly recognized that we needed our hybrids, and now we have one for each major subject area in each Region. Part-time tutors who work directly with students are recruited basically from other universities, colleges of education, polytechnic institutions, and so on. We also use a few secondary school teachers.

In April of 1969, there were just four of us. We now have about 1,500 people in varied capacities at this Walton Hall Campus. Another 1,500 work full-time in our Regions. Then there are about 1,500 part-time counselors and 3,000 tutors. This represents an incredibly large and rapid growth in four years.

Q. Do you feel that your students are at a disadvantage because of their limited contacts with tutors?

A. Let me say first that the staff in a conventional university may talk about the value of developing student-instructor relationships, but I have not seen them doing much of that. Furthermore, human contacts are not as rare in the Open University as your question suggests. There are counselor contacts, self-help groups with other students, and about four to six hours of face-to-face instruction during a half-credit course of 170 hours. Finally, students get together for one week in the year during our summer schools on a traditional university campus.

Q. Do you feel, at this point, that the Open University promises to meet the United Kingdom's need for more educated people?

A. The needs of the United Kingdom, I would say, are the needs of any society which is changing rapidly. We hope to help produce a human community that is more thoughtful, a community that looks forward and can weigh evidence, a community that won't be fobbed off by platitudes—one that is alive and vital.

Q. In the United States, there is a distinct advantage to having graduated from certain "name" schools—much like having gone to your Oxford. Do you see this as a disadvantage to the Open University graduates?

A. I think all societies have their power systems. It would be foolish to pretend that our system—like yours—did not have privilege built into it.

On the other hand, we are moving into a world where universities other than your Ivy League institutions provide the vast number of well-qualified persons. The stranglehold of the old systems is disappearing. Furthermore, our highly motivated, extremely dedicated part-time adult student, who has to organize his studies with his work life and with social and domestic responsibilities, will have little trouble in being seen as superior to the full-time 18- to 21-year-old student at conventional universities.

Although it will be a struggle, in a mobile and flexible society, we must build in new educational flexibility. Now if someone starts at Sussex or Oxford, he finishes at Sussex or Oxford. If he starts with us, he finishes with us. But we shall secure mutual recognition so that the student—the person one seeks to develop—has all the benefits and the opportunities to which his personal qualities and motivation may lead.

As the above interview indicates, Britain's bold new open access to a university education—like the brave new ideas in our country—has its problems and is flawed by certain defects. But for an infant delivered into a coldly skeptical world but three years ago, it already is a huge, handsome, healthy educational baby!

More than a correspondence school, more than an electronic wonder, it is a tribute to human ingenuity—an idea come of age with important portent for teaching and learning not only in the Old World and in the Third World but in our country as well. What is taking place through the Open University merits our respectful attention. □

Strategies for Developing Values

By JACK R. FRAENKEL
Professor of Interdisciplinary Studies in Education, California State University, San Francisco.

☐ **Values represent what a person** considers important in life. They are ideas as to what is good, beautiful, effective, or just, and therefore worth having, worth doing, or worth striving to attain. They serve as *standards* by which we determine if a particular thing (object, idea, policy, etc.) is good or bad, desirable or undesirable, worthy or unworthy, or someplace in between these extremes.

As standards, values help us judge the worth of things. Many of us, however, are unaware of what our values are and hence have difficulty determining whether or not a particular thing, or class of things, is of worth to us—and why. It might be hypothesized, therefore, that teachers who want to help students identify values (both the student's own and those of others) can do so by presenting them with what I call a *value-incident.*

A value-incident is a situation, statement, argument, excerpt from a play or novel, picture, cartoon, or the like, in which one or more individuals say or do something that he, she, or they indicate (or imply) is important to them. Examples include such diverse possibilities as a statement by a public official endorsing capital punishment, a popular song like the Beatles "She's Leaving Home," or the account in Truman's memoirs of his decision to use the atomic bomb.

After the class has read (viewed, heard, etc.) the value-incident, it is important to discuss student perceptions and reactions in order to help them understand and think about the values reflected in the material. One way to promote such discussion is to encourage students to respond to the following questions, repeating them where appropriate so as to elicit several responses:

1. What did the key people do or say in the situation just presented?
2. What do you think were their reasons for doing/saying what they did?
3. What do these reasons you've identified tell you about what is important to these people?
4. If you were in a situation like this, what would you do?
5. Why would you do this?
6. What differences do you see in what all these people think is important? Similarities? How would you explain such differences/similarities?

The assumption underlying this strategy (by which, I mean a carefully thought-out series of operations to be pursued in a particular and planned sequence) is that by making inferences about what they and other individuals consider important (that is, their values), students will begin to think about what they themselves value.

As students begin to identify their own and others' values, they will soon realize that they (like the rest of us) have acquired, in the process of growing up, many conflicting values. Conflicts in values often surface when people make different value judgments. A value judgment (sometimes called a *value claim*) is a statement about what an individual or group thinks *should* be (e.g., that the United States should get completely out of Southeast Asia once and for all). We use our values as standards to help us decide what kinds of value judgments to make about a particular idea or state of affairs.

To help students learn to identify, analyze, and discuss value conflicts, the teacher can again present them with a data source (story, film, news article, and the like). This time, however, the people involved should be faced with a choice between two or more conflicting *possibilities* (e.g., a policeman faced with choosing between allowing a soapbox speaker to continue speaking to an increasingly angry and threatening crowd or ordering him to stop and thus possibly infringing on his constitutional rights). The individual(s) faced with the choice, however, must not yet have made the choice. The teacher can then ask the following questions:

1. What is this story about?
2. What options are open to the key persons involved?
3. What might happen to them if they do each of these things (i.e., what might be the consequences of the various options)?
4. What might happen to those who are not immediately involved? What evidence, if any, is there that these consequences will indeed occur?
5. What do you think they

Dr. Fraenkel's ideas are developed at greater length in his new book, *Helping Students Think and Value,* Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1973.

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By making inferences about what they and other individuals consider important (that is, their values), students will begin to think about what they themselves value.

should do? Why?

After a sufficient amount of discussion has taken place regarding the options and consequences involved, the teacher can help students consider their own behavior in similar situations that they have experienced. He does this by focusing on a *particular* suggestion for action and then asking these additional questions:

6. Has anything like this ever happened to you?
7. What did you do?
8. As you think back now, was that a good or bad thing to do? Why?
9. What else could you have done?

The intent of this strategy is that students consider seriously the options open to them rather than simply give what they consider to be the "solution" the teacher desires or considers "good."

Students are particularly likely to give "acceptable" answers when asked to evaluate their own (recalled) behavior. It is crucial, therefore, that the teacher accept any and all of their replies (even the most antisocial) at face value, encourage them to consider the consequences of each, and then search for evidence to support or refute the likelihood that these consequences will occur.

Underlying the strategy is the assumption that through realizing, discussing, and evaluating various courses of action—along with the consequences of these options and the evidence to support or refute these consequences—students will become more aware that all of us hold values that will conflict at times, realize that there are many different ways of dealing with a particular problem, and, hopefully, become more willing to think about and evaluate the consequences which various options may produce.

To be able to identify and appraise the consequences of various options, students need to be helped to identify and *empathize* with the person who is faced with the conflicting possibilities. To help them do this, the teacher needs to increase students' sensitivity to the worth and dignity of others, especially those unlike themselves. Sensitivity is something that cannot be taught directly. It can only be developed by engaging students in experiences which enable them to identify the *feelings* of others and to react with feelings themselves. How might this be done?

One way is to expose students to written, recorded, or filmed excerpts from powerful literature in which individuals who are as true to life as possible express their feelings and show their emotions about other people, events, or ideas (e.g., Richard Wright's *Black Boy,* Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man,* Henrik Ibsen's *A Doll's House*), and then ask the class these questions:

1. What is this excerpt about?
2. How do you think the key person felt?
3. Why do you think he or she felt this way?
4. Has anything like this ever happened to anyone you know? In a story you've read? To you?
5. How did you feel?
6. After thinking about an incident like this and talking about it, what can you say about people and how they feel in situations like this?

The assumption here is that by forming and comparing inferences about their own and others' feelings in certain instances, students will become more aware of the similarities as well as the differences in feelings that people possess in various situations and thus be better able to understand why people act as they do.

In all the strategies presented so far, the teacher must be careful not to discourage students from expressing their feelings. Acceptance or nonacceptance can be shown in many ways, including any number of body movements and facial mannerisms (smiles, frowns, eye movements, and so on). Students learn quite early to check out what the teacher "wants" and to try and provide such, often at the expense of increasing their own understanding and gaining insight into their own feelings.

A teacher must think seriously, therefore, about how he responds to student expressions. He can listen carefully and respond in a somewhat noncommittal manner (e.g., by saying "I see" or "I understand"). He can restate what a student has stated while indicating that he understands what the student is trying to express. ("You said you felt very uncomfortable when you moved to a new town and began your freshman year in high school away from home. I can understand that kind of feeling.") He can verbally support the

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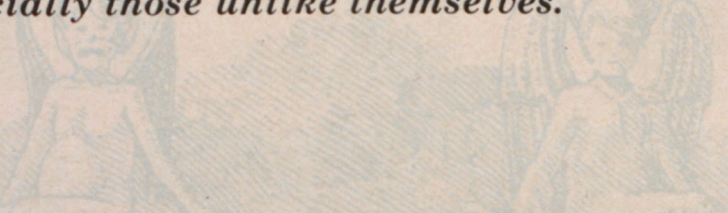
The teacher needs to increase students' sensitivity to the worth and dignity of others, especially those unlike themselves.



feelings a student expresses. ("I know what you mean, Sam. I've felt that way myself.")

The point being made here is that when it comes to feelings, the teacher is to do his best not to judge. A student's reactions concerning his experiences in the world are uniquely personal and private and should be respected as such, provided that they do not impose on someone else.

Even though the teacher may disagree with a student's feelings, he needs to accept them if he is to help all his students realize the different kinds of feelings that people may experience in the same or similar situations. This is *not* to say that the teacher should not do his best to engage students in a rich variety of experiences so that they can continually expand their understanding of what the world includes.

I would argue that no teacher has the right to dictate how any student should feel *about* these experiences. When a student (or anyone else) claims that what he finds good is also good for everyone else, however, this is a different matter. The individual has made a value claim rather than an expression of feeling. It is part of any teacher's professional responsibility to help him and others assess the claim that has been made.

Value claims usually will take one of two forms. Some are statements about the worth or quality of something (e.g., John F. Kennedy was a great man). Others are statements which indicate that some person or group should do a particular thing or follow a given course of action (e.g., the United States should cease giving any aid whatsoever to dictatorships). Let us call the first type definitional value claims and the second type propositional value claims. How can we help students deal with each type?

If individuals are to assess definitional value claims intelligently, they must first of all be clear about what the claim means. For example, if someone remarks that Carl is an excellent worker, we need to know what he means by the term *excellent* (i.e., what qualities, skills, etc. an excellent worker possesses) before we can assess Carl's work.

Many value disputes arise because people have different meanings in mind for the value terms that they use. For example, suppose a student makes a value claim in class that John F. Kennedy was a great man. If the class is to discuss and assess this claim, the meaning of the term *great* must be defined. What characteristics do great men possess? The teacher's job is to encourage and assist students to define the value term and then to help them decide whether a particular person in a given situation would logically fall within the definition—that is, would possess the characteristics.

The problem here, as you can guess, lies in reaching an agreement on the definition of *great.* Such a word, being an abstraction, is very difficult to pin down to a precise definition. However, the teacher needs to encourage and help students to make the attempt so that the meaning of various alternatives becomes clearer.

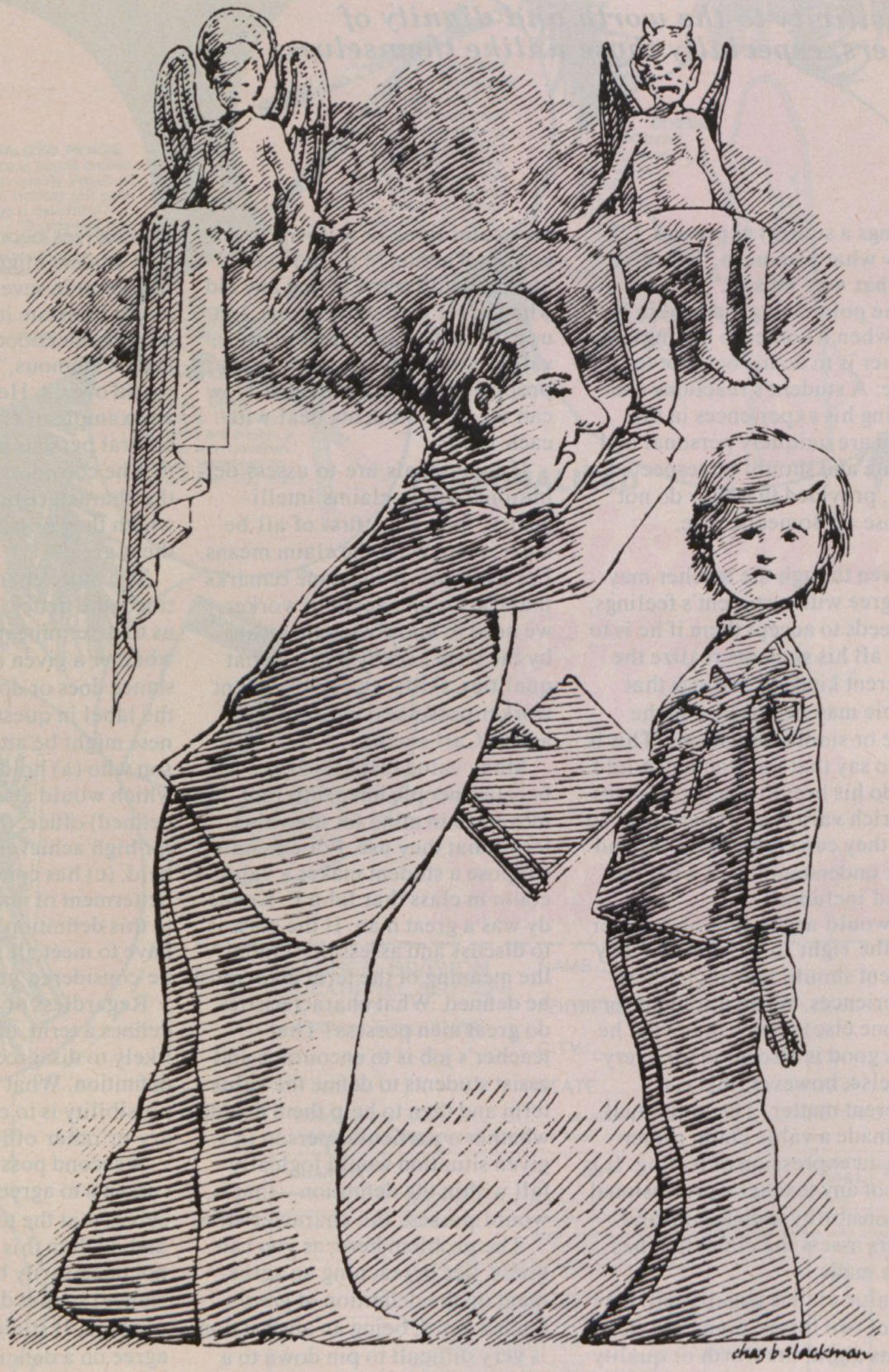
A student might define a term like *great* in several ways. He might translate it into terms more easily understood (e.g., great means "famous," "renowned the world over"). He might point to an example or examples of several persons or their actions that he considers great, indicating the characteristics or attributes which they possess that make them great.

The more characteristics identified, the better, since they enable us to determine more clearly whether a given individual or instance does or does not warrant the label in question. Thus, greatness might be attributed to a person who (a) holds a high (a term which would also have to be defined) office, (b) is recognized for high achievement in his or her field, (c) has contributed to the betterment of mankind. According to this definition, a person would have to meet all three criteria to be considered great.

Regardless of how a student defines a term, other students are likely to disagree with the definition. What then? One possibility is to consult a dictionary or other official definition.

A second possibility is for discussants to agree among themselves that the term means such-and-such in this instance (though not necessarily beyond this instance) so that discussion may proceed. If students are unable to agree on a definition, further discussion of the claim is likely to be unprofitable.

If students are to assess propositional value claims in-



Feelings, values, and sensitivities are matters that need to be discovered by the student rather than imposed by the teacher.

Drawing by Charles B. Slackman. Reprinted from The New York Times Magazine. © *1972.*

telligently, they must not only be clear about the value terms involved, but also they need to consider what might happen if the claim were to become reality. Suppose, for example, that a student claims that the United States should cease giving aid to any type of dictatorship. What might happen if the United States were to do this? Who would be affected? How? (questions of fact) Would these consequences be desirable? Why or why not? (questions of value)

The teacher who wishes to help students learn to evaluate alternatives, consequences, and conclusions for themselves rather than blindly to accept them because their source is one of friendship, power, or prestige, therefore, will *not* teach students that a particular propositional value claim (e.g., that schoolchildren should be bused) is good or bad, right or wrong, because he happens to think so.

He will teach students to seek out the reasons why the advocates (whoever they are) of a particular value claim think a specified idea or action is good or bad (i.e., to identify the consequences or outcomes the advocates believe will or will not occur as a result of the idea or action).

Such a teacher will also teach students to search for evidence, both pro and con, past and present, in order to determine the probability or degree to which the outcomes or consequences predicted are likely to happen.

NEA Resolution C-18. Moral and Ethical Values

The National Education Association believes that an understanding of the American heritages and the traditional values of the American way of life is a primary goal of teaching and learning in the public schools.

The Association recommends that all educators emphasize, through their professional activities inside and outside the classroom, the application of our moral and ethical values.

The Association also urges that schools make every effort to develop in school-age citizens, through curriculum, programs, and activities, a capacity for moral judgment and a sense of responsibility in both the public and the private spheres.

Once the consequences have been identified and the likelihood of their occurrence has been determined, students must consider if these consequences are desirable. Therefore, the teacher will teach students that a particular action (recommendation, conclusion) is never bad or good in and of itself but depends on the circumstances under which it occurs and the degree to which the action, under *those circumstances and in that situation,* is just. Thus he will ask students to consider if the rights of all concerned will be equally considered. Are individual rights likely to be enhanced by this idea or action?

Finally, it is to be emphasized that teachers are to teach as facts only those claims about the world that can be objectively established (e.g., that driving above or below a certain speed on American freeways is unsafe). Any claim that cannot be so established remains a hypothesis until such evidence becomes available.

Notice, however, that a value claim is not the same thing as a factual claim. A value judgment is not a factual judgment. When a person says that such-and-such is better than so-and-so *because* it possesses certain characteristics or because this or that will occur, we can check out the facts and see if what he says is true (i.e., whether the person or thing in question does possess the characteristics or whether such consequences have resulted from similar actions or policies in the past). But this still doesn't make the item being referred to good; it merely supports the person's reasons for thinking it good.

The only way that we can support the goodness of a particular claim is to show that the characteristics or consequences to which it refers are consistent with criteria that human beings endorse. Many such criteria have been proposed (e.g., the degree to which human dignity is enhanced; the degree to which all the individuals involved are assured of equal consideration; the degree to which possibilities for human survival are increased). A final thought for the reader to consider, therefore, is the following: What criteria would you propose as a basis for determining whether the qualities of an individual or the consequences of an act are good or evil? □

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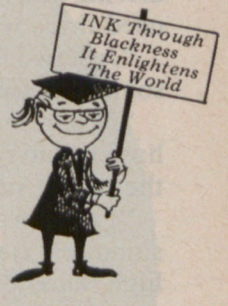

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tudent Market Since 1968"

A Round-Up on Year-Round Schools

By N. S. RIFKIN
Free-Lance Writer,
Fairfax, Virginia.

☐ **It was September of '74—2074**—and Frank Bramley had the floor. "What I propose," he told the earnest citizens of Rosehill School District 90, "is a brand new school calendar starting in September and ending in mid-June."

"For everyone?" someone asked.

"Yes. For everyone."

The audience looked dismayed.

"But what about vacations?"

"Vacations!" said Bramley. "You get the whole darn summer off. Plus a long weekend at Thanksgiving, 10 days at Christmas, and another long weekend in the spring. What more could you want?"

"What more? My fall trip to see the foliage in New England."

Someone interrupted. "We go to Florida in the winter. My folks live down there. It isn't worth driving that far for 10 days. We need three weeks."

"Just two long weekends?" someone else asked in disgust.

"Now remember," Bramley hastened to remind them, "you get the whole summer."

"I don't want just one, long, hot summer." It was one of Rosehill's high schoolers. "I want four vacations, scattered through the year. Not all lumped together."

The school board president intervened. "Let's talk about the academics, Bramley. Will the kids learn better?"

"Oh, sure. They get down to business in the fall, and after they've done a good year's work, they can unwind all summer."

"After nine months in the classroom, it might take a year to unwind," someone interjected.

"What about the students who are flunking?" the chairman asked.

"Or what happens if I get into a course I hate?" a student asked. "Do I hafta take it for nine months? Oh, brother!" He buried his face in mock despair.

"No problem," said Bramley. "We have individualized learning, right? So the teacher teaches each kid at his own pace."

"All 35? In one class? All year?"

"Sure."

"What about high school, Mr. Bramley? Do you expect the teacher who has 140 students, to teach 140 different lessons every day for nine months?"

"Why not?" said Bramley blithely.

"And what if a pupil falls behind? Say he's sick for a couple of weeks or more?"

"So he repeats the year," said Bramley. "Or he makes up the work during the summer."

Most of the Rosehill parents were too stunned to speak, but Green, of the Taxpayers' Alliance, got right down to the dollars and cents issue. "Bramley, is that all you use the buildings for in the summer, for make-up courses for kids who are flunking?"

"No, Mr. Green." Bramley was losing his patience. "You clean them up. Repair them."

"Let most of them stand empty for more than two months?" Green thundered. "Look, Bramley, do you know what would happen if all the kids came to school at the same time? This place would be bursting at the seams. The way we do it now, we never have more than three-fourths at a time because everyone gets a three-week vacation every nine weeks on a staggered basis.

"Put all these kids on the same schedule, Bramley, and you're going to have to build us a new school in a hurry. And then another and another."

Bramley sat down. He hadn't really given up, but he stopped arguing. It was an uphill battle. New ideas always are!

The Bramley Affair is pure fiction, but whether it will still be fiction in 2074 is hard to say. There are those who are convinced that the nine-month school year is a vanishing species—that it will be gone in 10 years, possibly even in five.

From Maine to Florida, from Maryland to California, from Alaska to Guam, schools are going or thinking of going year-round.

Just what does year-round mean? The name is misleading. It implies that each child will be going to school 365 days a year, with Saturdays and Sundays off and a few holidays, like the Fourth of July and Christmas. But that isn't what year-round means! Year-round, in fact, is no specific plan—merely the demise of one specific plan, the September-to-June calendar Bramley wants Rosehill to recreate.

Too bad all the pioneers didn't agree to call it the flexible school year as some of them did. They certainly didn't all agree on a plan. What they did agree on was the need to break with a tradition that seemed to have little to offer except the fact that it *was* a tradition, one that served farm-oriented America well, and one that even

served early industrial America reasonably well but which may have outlived its usefulness.

Rosehill happens to be on the 45-15 plan implemented probably for the first time in Valley View (Illinois) School District 96 on June 30, 1970, and then in Prince William County, Virginia, with minor changes the following year. It is called 45-15 because terms and vacations are counted by actual school days rather than by calendar weeks.

The 45-15 plan has become a favorite across the country. It was designed for the elementary schools, where ungraded classrooms and individualized lessons had already taken hold.

Park School in Hayward, California, had already had its short term-short vacations plan going for two years before Valley View tried it. And what is interesting is that the Park School did not adopt the plan to save money—as was the case with Valley View and Prince William County.

As a matter of fact, Park School's new calendar, which did not stagger vacations or try in any other way to save space and duck the cost of new buildings, added about as much to their yearly budget as Prince William found they were able to cut from theirs using staggered vacations to avoid putting up new buildings.

One question now is whether year-round will work as well on the high school level. Eight school systems in metropolitan Atlanta, Georgia, have already tried it, offering mini-courses for mini-credit. In Atlanta, the concern was not to save dollars but scholars—to offer courses in interesting and easily digested

Two basic year-round plans, which have many variations.

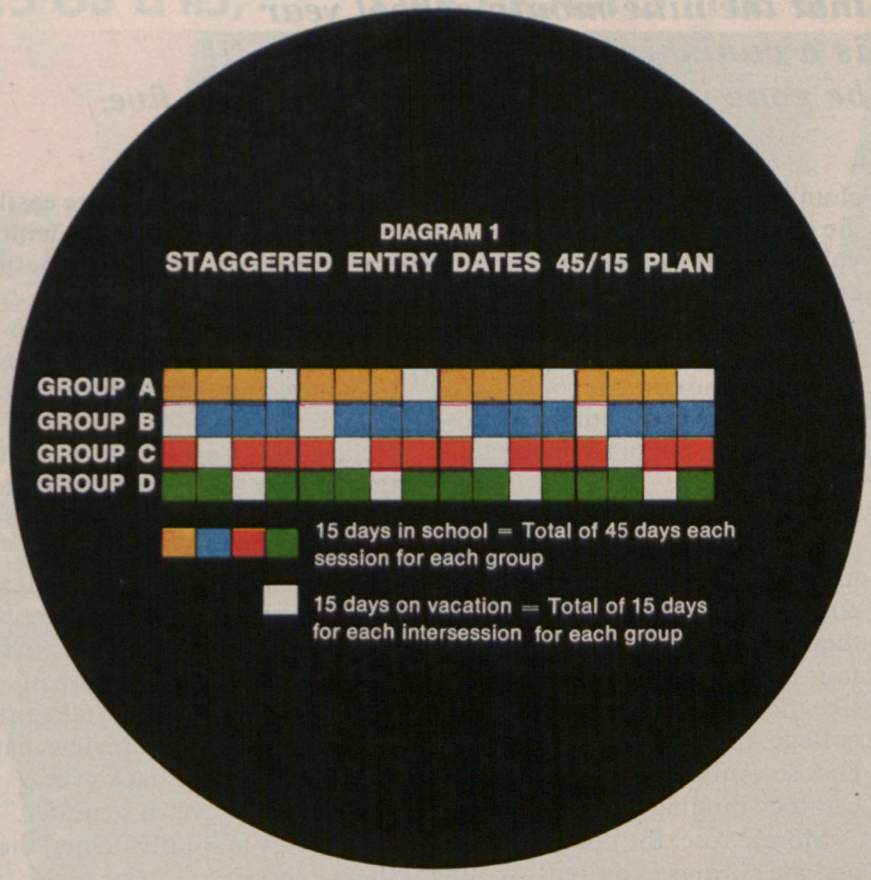
DIAGRAM 1
STAGGERED ENTRY DATES 45/15 PLAN
GROUP A
GROUP B
GROUP C
GROUP D
15 days in school = Total of 45 days each session for each group
15 days on vacation = Total of 15 days for each intersession for each group

Artwork adapted from So You Think You Want a Year Round School *by Diana Zane Caput and Geraldine Cadwallader. Copyright 1973 by the Instruction Center of the California Teachers Association.*

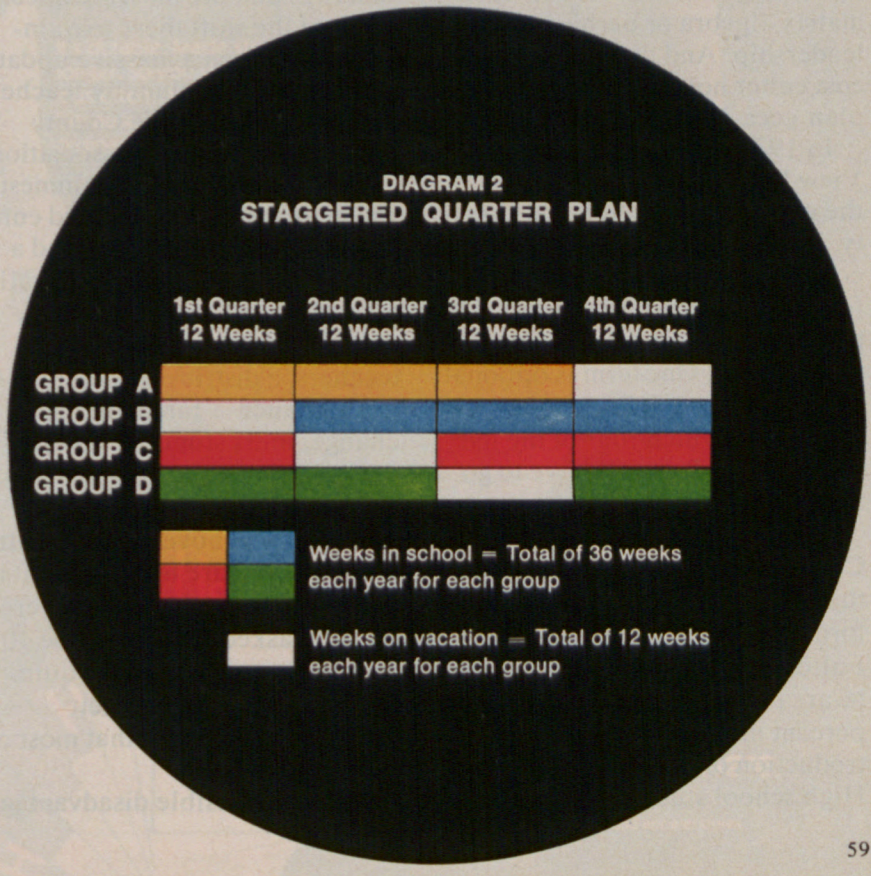
DIAGRAM 2
STAGGERED QUARTER PLAN
1st Quarter 12 Weeks
2nd Quarter 12 Weeks
3rd Quarter 12 Weeks
4th Quarter 12 Weeks
GROUP A
GROUP B
GROUP C
GROUP D
Weeks in school = Total of 36 weeks each year for each group
Weeks on vacation = Total of 12 weeks each year for each group

There are those who are convinced that the nine-month school year is a vanishing species—that it will be gone in 10 years, possibly even in five.

chunks. The key to the plan was the discovery that students were voluntarily taking summer courses to explore or advance, not simply to make up work that they had failed to learn, and that 70 percent of the courses could be taken whenever the students chose to take them, not in any predetermined order.

The nine-month course disappeared. So did the six-week summer course that purported to cover nine months of work. In their place, came a succession of four independent, quarter terms, like the four-quarter terms of a college, that allowed students to choose courses freely from catalogs bulging with offerings.

Morale rose, the bored revived, and the curious explored—willing to gamble 10 weeks or 12 on something new: a short course in matrix algebra or perhaps one in leadership. And though neither a cost cutter nor a space saver, the plan goes on.

In 1971, the year after Valley View launched its 45-15 plan on the elementary level, Dade County, Florida, launched a mini-course, mini-credit plan optional for county secondary schools. The plan provides for five 45-day terms a year. One term is optional; the rest, required. But no one specifies in which four of the five terms the student will have to go to school.

Both the Atlanta and the Dade County plans are also affecting the curriculum and student performance. An adminstrator in Fulton County, one of the Atlanta-area systems, links a drop of 41 percent in the failure rate to introduction of the quarter system. High school students find, he says, that they can grapple more easily with 12-week courses than with traditional one- and two-semester ones. In addition, their teachers—who developed brand new courses to fit the shorter time periods—are more enthusiastic about their teaching.

Says Joan Casey, chairman of the English Department of Fulton County's Palmetto High School, "Boredom is a natural disease, and students reflect this problem. But with shorter courses there is innovation, excitement, creativity, and relevance—and a sense of closure. Bright students take in more. Strugglers can review material without going back over a whole year or even a semester." Mrs. Casey is solidly behind the short course!

A Dade county district spokesman says that the most significant result of the shift there to quinmester has been a massive updating of the curriculum by teachers.

However, the Dade County Classroom Teachers Association has reservations about quinmester and believes that the revised curriculum should not be termed a success until it has been formally assessed.

In addition, say the Dade teachers, a district seeking to introduce such a far-reaching change, must stimulate interest on the part of students and community, and must avoid imposing change from above on the faculty and staff who are to implement it. When quinmester teachers were recently asked whether some 40 problems associated with quinmester still existed in their schools, they replied that most of them did.

Another possible disadvantage of both the Atlanta and Dade County plans is that vacations are pretty close to the length they have always been (9, 10, 12 weeks), too long and too far apart to reap the advantages of the Park and Valley View short term-short vacation plans for the young student. But the long vacation is appealing to the high schooler who wants to complete his high school education early or to hold down a job for the experience, the money, or simply because it is the growing-up thing to do—something not necessarily easy to manage when the long vacation has become short vacations scattered through the year.

But if employers are willing, students with staggered vacations can take turns holding down one full-time job all year—an arrangement that would expand the job market for students and the labor market for business.

To some, quinmester, the quarter system, and 45-15 are almost as rigid as the conventional school year. While some schools dabbled with these kinds of calendar reform, Vermont's Champlain Valley Union High School tried out a multiple-access high school program in which nine-week courses started up every three weeks throughout the year, with students free to pick up new courses whenever they wanted them and had room for them in their schedules.

However, it turned out that students didn't want to start courses in the summer. The resulting underenrollment made the summer courses prohibitively expensive, so the summer portion of the program was terminated. The school now operates on a quarter system

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within the traditional September-June school year, with attendance mandatory in all quarters.

One of the most exciting and daring year-round plans began this past summer on the campus of the Clarion State College in Pennsylvania. A flexible all-year school, completely individualized, it will have no beginning and no end. Set up for nursery through twelfth grade (if one can still talk in terms of grades at all), it will be operating under one of broadest mandates in education in the nation: the Pennsylvania State Board of Education curriculum regulations that permit principals to approve planned courses that can be taught anywhere, anytime, and can be for any duration of time. The outline of the planned course must include objectives, appropriate content, expected levels of student achievement, and evaluation procedures.

John McLain, director of Research and Learning at Clarion State College, believes (and few will disagree) that school is only one small segment of a child's learning experience. The child is learning from all kinds of experiences and from other people all the time. It is the aim of Clarion to foster and encourage this learning, formal and informal, in school and out, using the human and material resources of the community.

If this school stirs thoughts of Mankato State College in Minnesota and Donald Glines, don't be surprised. McLain and Glines are close friends who have devoted countless hours to exploring ways to ensure that schools foster the natural instinct of the child to learn.

Will the school at Clarion State College succeed or will it find that the average child cannot cope with the freedom it offers? Many people across the nation will be waiting for clues from this creative effort.

Have educators and those involved with education on the federal level taken stands on the issue of the year-round school?

The American Association of School Administrators favors taking a new look at the school calendar. In their 1970 publication, *Nine Plus,* the AASA presents a discussion of year-round education and a six-and-a-half page bibliography with about 140 listings of material on the subject.

In April 1972, the U.S. House of Representatives General Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor held a hearing on year-round education, inviting some schools to send representatives, others to send reports that would add to Congressional and public knowledge of the year-round concept. The Subcommittee has published the hearings in a document of more than 400 pages of information on various year-round plans. It is entitled *Hearing Before the General Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor on Year-Round Schools on April 24, 1972.* A limited number of copies are available free from the Subcommittee at the U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515.

Both Congress and the U.S. Office of Education refrain from telling state and local governments that they must or even should operate their schools year-round. But USOE has encouraged schools to investigate and has offered funds to help explore and evaluate.

In an interview in July of 1972, Sidney P. Marland, Jr., then Commissioner of Education and later Assistant Secretary of HEW for Education, said:

> There are some implicit promises in it [year-round]. Among them—greater use of space and also opportunities for teachers to increase their income. . . . But we have not had enough evidence yet to say that this is something which should be universalized. Traditionally, whenever this [year-round] has been tried . . ., it has come a cropper because of parents' resistance to having a confused arrangement of family vacations. . . . It has been resisted because it is incompatible with conventional living patterns. This is not to say that we should not keep trying. . . . There are some [plans] now in motion that look very attractive.

NEA, like Congress and the Office of Education, urges judicious consideration of year-round programs. Early this year, the Association's Executive Committee recommended that (a) the NEA actively support the concept of restructuring the school year and that it stimulate the exploration, innovation, and experimentation of the program on the part of its local affiliates; (b) the NEA stress the critical need for school systems to arrange for staff participation in long-range planning; (c) local school systems, with local association involvement, be encouraged to design year-round programs to meet local needs.

In exploring the topic, classroom teachers and local asso-

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ciations will want to consider the fact that year-round programs in some systems may be used to further limit the number of jobs.

Analysis of the economic report on Prince William County's program by Education Turnkey Systems, Inc. suggests other considerations—both economic and professional— that teachers will want to keep in mind in exploring year-round.

According to the report, teachers in the year-round project received contracts for 25 percent more teaching days (241 vs. 193) and 25 percent higher salaries than under the traditional calendar. But they also taught *one-third* more classes. When year-round programs that increase teacher productivity are adopted permanently, I believe teachers may believe that they should share in the savings their increased productivity creates.

Moreover, the report continues, these savings were only realized because of "the elimination of all nonteaching (in-service and preparation) days" for classroom personnel. Such a loss in professional time merits serious consideration, particularly since, in Prince William County, the savings attributed to classroom personnel amounted to nearly a third of the total savings (9.6 percent of annual costs per pupil) realized by the 45-15 plan over the traditional calendar.

Teachers will also be looking at some other aspects of year-round. Under many such plans, they can select the type of contract they prefer—working more, less, or about the same amount of time as under the traditional September-to-June calendar. Valley View, for example, offers 52 different teaching contracts to its teachers.

In addition, teacher advocates of year-round say that adoption of such programs could help reverse the present trend of the public to reject school budgets and other educational programs. After all, adopting year-round, they contend, indicates an attempt by the school system to use the school plant more efficiently. And adoption of year-round may change the minds of those members of the public who think of teaching as a fairly well-paid part-time job because of the traditional summer vacation.

In addition, the teaching profession will be monitoring teacher attitudes in those systems which have already adopted year-round.

In an attitude survey prepared for Prince William County School District by Ned S. Hubbell Associates, 89 percent of staff affected by the 45-15 plan said that it should be continued; only 5 percent thought it should be temporary. To the question, "Has the 45-15 plan caused any particular instructional problems for you?" only 22 percent said Yes.

The profession will also be concerned with pupil and parent attitude on year-round, the possible positive and negative effects of such programs on student learning, and the interest of the business community in the monetary benefits it can derive from year-round. For example, on the last point, many industries, including air-conditioning firms and moving companies, have a vested interest in schools' shifting from September-June calendars to year-round ones. But the *only* vested interest that matters is the student. Ask a grand jury of outstanding elementary school teachers to weigh the evidence; ask your best high school teachers to do the same. Let each committee propose the best calendar—new or old—for their grade level. Here are some books to help them gather the facts:

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Some NEA Materials on This Topic

Consider a Year-Round School. Discusses factors interested persons should consider before deciding to adopt a year-round school plan. Stock #051-02070. Package of 30 leaflets, $1.50.

The Rescheduled School Year. Summarizes research and describes experiments with various plans, such as the all-year school and the extended school year. Research Summary. 38 pp. Stock #381-12006. $1.

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COMMENT

By **RICHARD P. BAILEY**
President, Hamline University, St. Paul, Minnesota.

☐ **The difference between "in** school" and "out of school" was considerably more pronounced a generation ago. Only the brave had the temerity to suggest in the 30's that teachers were human; that the schoolhouse should be attractively stimulating; or that learning might be preparatory, relevant, or exciting. Schooling was stifling drudgery, and only an occasional bookworm or myopic mouse took pleasure in the deadening activity.

I did my pedagogical penance in a village in the Midwest where work, pain, thrift, and boredom were considered puritanical virtues. A day in school, it was often said and widely believed, was good for a child. A year was better. And eight years were so ennobling that someone had thought up compulsory education laws. It was not easy for us little folks to understand the reasoning of the big folks, but we obeyed.

We sent to school. In the hazy golden fall we went, over the snowy hills and icy streets of winter, and on into the wakening green spring. Outside were all the forbidden pleasures of life in Midwestern America. Inside were too many kids in too little space, and all the imaginative creativity of a seven-page reading assignment and the first 10 questions.

Teachers didn't have the lively personalities of the colorful cast of characters just beyond the schoolhouse walls. Out there were boisterous farmers who spoke the tangy language of field and barn. Small town merchants repeated and replenished the shady gossip from back room and back road. Retired rustics sat on benches, whittled and chewed, and reminisced about their part in the fencing, plowing, and purchasing of virgin America.

School language lacked the liveliness and precision of language of the streets, alleys, and fields.

One of the exceptions on the inside was the athletic coach. He presided over the real world of varsity athletics and had no smell of chalk and pencil shavings about him. When he spoke, boys stood tall, maidens smiled, and even townspeople listened. He took us on fishing trips to northern lakes; he played checkers, table tennis, and matchstick poker with us; he talked to us about pitching, hitting, shooting, dribbling, passing, and blocking; and he knew what to do for sprained ankles and jockstrap itch.

Administrators of a generation ago came with regularity from the ranks of coaching. Of course they did! The coach was flesh and blood among a ghostly horde of anemic wraiths. Maybe the agriculture and home economics teachers were human; few else in my school seemed to be.

In the poorly lighted and ventilated classroom, I pencil-chewed my way through word problems when I really wanted to learn how to plow a straight furrow and load a hayrack with bundles. Geography told me more than I cared to know of Africa and Asia and much less than I could have used about mid-America and Lee County. History skipped lightly over the Black Hawk War, which had raged on the very fields on which I played baseball, to concentrate on the battles fought in France or worse, in ancient Greece and Rome. Always battles and dates.

Of music there was little; of art there was even less. Of literature there was Shakespeare; the dull novels of Cooper and Eliot; and the poetry of Shelley, Keats, and Byron. (If I miss entering heaven, I shall expect to spend eternity reading *Silas Marner*.)

In amazement, I have watched my own children enjoy school. My teenage daughter rides a bus to get there early and returns by bus after dark so that she can enjoy as many of the exciting activities as possible. Teachers seem more human. Coaches are less heroic. And cheerful classrooms and sparkling equipment pique even my jaded interest.

The contrast between inside and outside still exists but it is not so starkly vivid today. The outside slips in, and the inside seeps out.

That blurring of inside and outside may be the best thing to happen to education since I slept through two diagrammed sentences and a Palmer Method drill in the 30's. ☐

The National Economic Setting for Education

By WALTER W. HELLER
Regents Professor of Economics, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

☐ **A brief view of the national economic setting** for education calls for a few observations (a) on the relation between our national investment in education and the resultant payoff in economic growth and its impact on inequality and poverty, (b) on the economic rationale for a greater federal role in education, and (c) on the health of our economy from which we derive the fiscal wherewithal for educational finance. In order to do this in one article, I must be as succinct as Chief Judge Murdock of the U.S. Tax Court when confronted with a particularly flagrant tax evader who threw himself on the mercy of the court and pleaded, "As God is my judge, I do not owe this tax." Murdock fixed him with an icy stare and said, "He's not. I am. You do."

On the first subject, I find certain truths in education to be self-evident. Number one: In spite of Coleman, Jencks, and Averch and their challenging and challengeable studies, I subscribe to the economic articles of faith that ploughing more money and more resources into education raises its quality and that higher educational quality produces higher educational achievement and higher economic productivity. And much empirical economic research supports my belief.

Our huge educational outlay since World War II—our great intangible investment in human brain power—has had a huge payoff, one we can readily see if we look beyond the reduction of inequality to the reduction of poverty, a distinction that is terribly important to make. In 1970, the bottom one-fifth of American families received only 5.5 percent of the total family income of the country, a rise of 1 percent over the 1950 figure.

That increase is obviously not sufficient when one considers that the top one-fifth has held

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At the 1973 annual meeting of the Association in Portland, Oregon, delegates to the NEA Representative Assembly passed the following continuing resolution related to school finance:

The National Education Association believes that to achieve the Association's commitment to education in America and to assure fair tax practices for all citizens, public education must be supported from public tax sources in accordance with the following principles:

1. The federal share of financing public education must be at least one-third the total cost.

2. The state and local share of finance must be derived from a tax system which is balanced and complementary in nature, includes all broad-based taxes, reduces the excessive reliance on property taxes, and protects subsistence income.

3. Restrictive limits must not be imposed on school budgets and long-term borrowing.

4. The amount of federal and state support must be generally predictable for long-range planning and be specifically predictable for year-to-year planning.

5. Support programs must make adequate provision for research and development and for promoting improvements in educational practice.

6. Local governing boards must be fiscally independent.

7. A process of continuing tax revision must be established at all levels of government.

8. The process of tax administration must be subject to continuing review. ☐

steady with about 42 percent of the total income of the country. But observers often neglect to point out that economic growth, powered in part by education in its various forms, has cut the proportion of our population in poverty from 33 percent in 1947 to 22 percent in 1958 to 11 percent today. In other words, in talking about inequality as affected by education, we must look at the distribution within the present income structure *and* at what has happened to the whole structure. Much reduction in equality? No. Much reduction in poverty? Yes, in spades.

Some argue that the next decade will see a significant easing of the school finance problem. They reason that public school enrollment will decline one percent from 1971 to 1981 as compared to a 23 percent increase for the previous 10-year period, that a teacher glut exists now rather than a teacher shortage, and that schools have introduced cost-saving innovations. But stressing this letup in aggregate school finance pressure is a clear case of failing to see the trees for the forest.

Emphasizing the slower rise in school outlays in this decade overlooks in the aggregate the fact that school outlays will rise about $16 billion in this decade—not as large as the $22 billion rise in the decade of the sixties, but still a huge increase. (All numbers are in terms of constant 1971-72 dollars.) Also, it overlooks the enormous job that remains to be done—first, in cutting down the unconscionable inequalities and disparities among and within states and, second, in redressing the balance between property taxes and other taxes and between local, state, and federal responsibility for school financing.

We have to look at three aspects of the disparities between state and local governments. The first is the disparity in the ability to finance education and other services. The per capita income of New York and Connecticut is still almost double that of Mississippi, Alabama, and Arkansas. Also, some wealthy suburbs have five to 12 times as much tax base as their poorer cousins in the central cities.

But that is only one part of the three-part measurement of disparity. The second is need. Distribution of need is uneven. The percentage of children who live in poverty and need compensatory education is uneven. The five poorest states have three times the percentage of people living in poverty that the five richest do.

The third aspect of the disparity is cost. Those areas with high crime rates, severe pollution problems, decayed housing and public facilities, and hard-to-educate children have restricted abilities, great need, and high costs. To cure these disparities is a terribly expensive proposition, one that requires far greater federal participation in school finance.

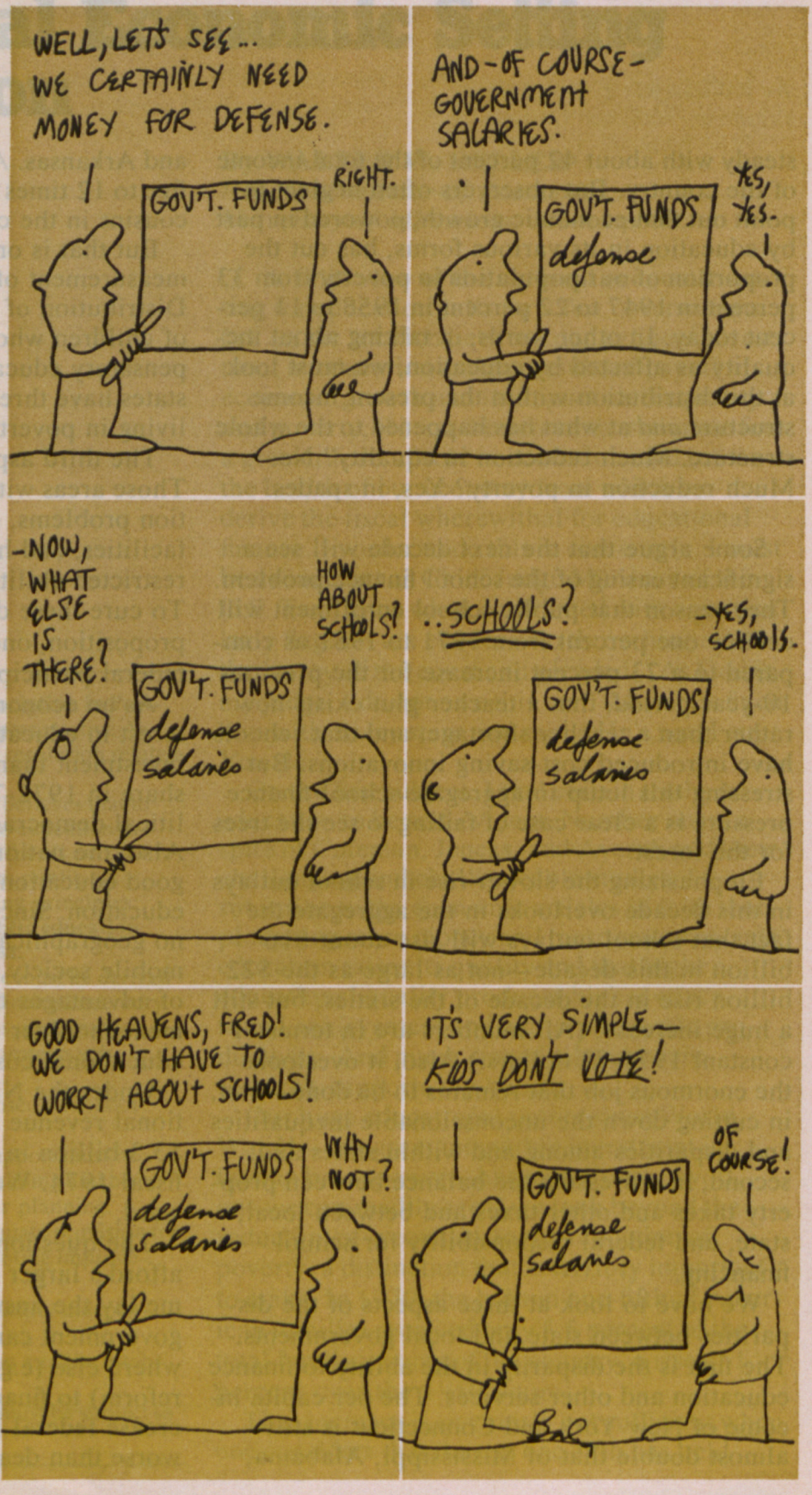
As an economist, I believe the national interest in education requires a far higher federal investment than the mere 7.8 percent federal share in 1972-73. Education contributes to political democracy and to greater social equality. Also, the nation derives economic benefits from good education and pays penalties for poor education. Since the benefits and penalties know no geographical boundaries within our highly mobile society, the national economic balance of advantages demands that the federal government shoulder a larger share of the burden of educational costs.

Under the Nixon Administration's educational revenue sharing bill, aid will drop from $3.3 billion in fiscal 1972 to $2.8 billion in fiscal 1974. We are marching resolutely backward.

The question is: Can the federal government afford a larger share in financing education? Let me lay the answer on the line. If the federal government cannot get the wherewithal anywhere else (e.g., the defense budget or tax reform) to finance a larger share, it could increase federal income taxes—surely not a fate worse than death. *(Continued on page 69)*

CARTOON ESSAY

By ELSA BAILEY


WELL, LET'S SEE... WE CERTAINLY NEED MONEY FOR DEFENSE.
GOV'T. FUNDS
RIGHT.
AND - OF COURSE - GOVERNMENT SALARIES.
GOV'T. FUNDS defense
YES, YES.
-NOW, WHAT ELSE IS THERE?
GOV'T. FUNDS defense salaries
HOW ABOUT SCHOOLS?
..SCHOOLS?
GOV'T. FUNDS defense salaries
-YES, SCHOOLS.
GOOD HEAVENS, FRED! WE DON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT SCHOOLS!
GOV'T. FUNDS defense salaries
WHY NOT?
IT'S VERY SIMPLE - KIDS DON'T VOTE!
GOV'T. FUNDS defense salaries
OF COURSE!

Ploughing more money and more resources into education raises its quality, and higher educational quality produces higher educational achievement and higher economic productivity.

Clearly, the federal government ought first to cut the tax giveaways and the tax shelters. That's the best way to get additional federal tax dollars, $5 to $10 to $15 billion a year if Congress would only face up to the problem. Remember Congress has cut billions from federal income taxes since 1961. If the federal income tax rate and tax regulations of 12 years ago still prevailed, Americans would be paying $50 billion more of corporate and individual income taxes than we are this year.

The country has had tax cut after tax cut after tax cut at the federal level and tax increase after tax increase after tax increase at the state and local levels. In total, however, we are paying about 28.5 percent of our gross national product in taxes. With the exception of Japan and Switzerland, that's the lowest ratio of taxes to the GNP in the modern world. The typical ratio in other advanced countries in Western Europe is 32, 35, and 40 percent. If social priorities demand it, *tax increase* should not be such a dirty word.

But as a political realist who recognizes that a Congressional tax increase is not just around the corner, let me turn to our best bet for the time being—the maintenance of a healthy and growing economy. Taking into account the rise in prices, the U.S. economy cranks out about a $20 billion automatic increase in federal revenue every year, year in and year out. Are we about to jeopardize that automatic bonanza by a new boom and bust cycle?

We are in a boom today. We have been in orbit, essentially in economic outer space, with 8 percent rates of real growth in recent quarters, the strongest upsurge since the Korean War. Are we firing the retro-rockets of fiscal policy and Federal Reserve monetary policy in the right amounts and at the right times to bring us back to the normal 4 percent growth path of the economy without crashing through to a second Nixon recession? Can the heat shield of our wage-price controls ward off the overheating of a new inflationary wage-price spiral?

Looking at previous postwar history is not especially encouraging in answering that question. Those of us who work with business cycles know that we have had a .000 batting average in trying to cool off previous postwar expansions, in trying to move back to our 4-1/4 percent average pace of expansion. Each time—in 1949, 1954, 1957, 1960, and 1970—we have fallen into recession. Can we improve the batting average this time?

In light of today's economic policies, in light of Watergate, in light of the great sense of malaise in the country and in the financial market, do we have a chance to avoid a bust after this boom? I can give at best a moderately optimistic answer.

In spite of the Administration's sickening series of blunders on the price and food fronts, I believe the overall posture of economic policy and economic prospects today is better than it was during the last boom. Let me cite chapter and verse on that. What do economists rely on to control, in some measure, the business cycle, excessive inflation, and extensive unemployment? Primarily fiscal instruments—taxes and budgets on the one hand and monetary policy on the other.

Mr. Nixon's budget today is in a better stance, a better posture, than Mr. Johnson's was in the last great upsurge because the tax increase in the Johnson Administration came too late. While Mr. Nixon's budget represents miserable social policy by my lights, it is moving from a deficit in a slack economy to a surplus in a full-employment economy, which is respectable economic policy.

In answer to those who are calling for a tax increase for cooling down the present boom, I think it is too late for that. However, it is never too late for a tax increase to finance good social services.

What about monetary policy? Again we have

Teachers ought not to have to give ground on demands for salary increases because someone says the economy won't be able to stand them. It will.

reversed gears from a highly stimulating policy of easy money last year to a restrictive policy this year. Interest rates have been rising dramatically, all except rates on state and local bonds. They have remained at about 5 or 5.5 percent. So, I think we have been firing the monetary and fiscal retro-rockets more or less on schedule.

The final question we must ask is Will the international deterioration of confidence in the dollar and the wage-price mess, nevertheless, bring the economy to its knees? The dollar crisis internationally traces in considerable part to the psychological impact of Watergate and the monumental mismanagement of our price-wage policy. However, the approximately 20 percent devaluation of the dollar in the past months has put U.S. business in a more competitive position with its world trading partners and has strengthened our international trade position and promises to help our balance of payments in the future. A weaker dollar means a stronger trade position. There is some virtue in adversity now and then.

That brings me to my final point of discussion: the wage-price area, the area that threatens teachers most, both personally and professionally, as we enter a period where educational dollars will be harder to come by.

Has inflation sunk its roots so deeply that we cannot hope to break out of the vicious grip of 7 to 8 percent inflation rates? I think not. Labor has been surprisingly moderate in its demands recently. Wage increases per man-hour this year over last year have been at only about 5.5 percent for the economy as a whole. New wage settlements, which three years ago were going at 12, 13, 14, and 15 percent, are averaging around 6 or 7 percent. No matter how much pain and travail we may experience in Phase IV, especially at first, I think we will avoid a vicious new wage-price spiral. Inflation in 1974 should taper down to 5 or 5-1/2 percent—not good, but better than the 1973 price explosion.

But whether we avoid the wage-price spiral or not, Americans should realize that the moment Mr. Nixon surprised us with his wage-price freeze on August 15, 1971, wage-price intervention became a bipartisan fact of life in the United States. He added a third major weapon to fiscal and monetary policy: wage-price control. It is an important weapon. As Al Capone noted, "You can get so much further with a kind word and a gun than with a kind word alone." We now have the gun of wage-price intervention.

Are we going to fall into a second Nixon recession? I think it's a bit better than 50-50 that we are going to avoid an actual recession in the traditional sense of having the gross national product, in real terms, recede. The growth rate will drop from 8 percent to 4 percent or 2 percent rates for awhile, but after teetering on the edge, the economy will start to recover again by the end of 1974 or early 1975.

In light of this, teachers ought not to have to give ground on demands for salary increases because someone says the economy won't be able to stand them. It will. And the country will resume, despite the policy mistakes in Washington, a reasonably good rate of growth by a year and a half from now.

There is no economic reason, therefore, that the wherewithal for school finance cannot be provided. Our tax burdens are not so heavy that we have reached the breaking point. As far as the fear of economic incapacity or higher taxes operating as a barrier to adequate financing of U.S. education, we have nothing to fear but fear itself. □

In a recent national survey conducted by Opinion Research Corporation, most people said they believe the federal contribution to public education is 30 percent, when actually it is not quite 8 percent. Most people said they believe the federal government should contribute 50 percent of all public school funds. Virtually nobody felt the federal contribution should decline.

School Finance Reform

By VICTOR O. HORNBOSTEL
Dean, School of Education, University of Tulsa, Oklahoma.

☐ **Rising school costs are the main factor in** stimulating demands for school finance reform. For the past several decades, increasing costs have resulted from rising school enrollments, inflation, and improvements in the quality of school programs.

Nationwide, school enrollments have stabilized and are projected to remain about where they are for the next few years or to decrease slightly. Thus, pressure from increasing school enrollments has been eliminated as a factor in rising costs except for some school districts—mainly suburban ones whose enrollments continue to increase rapidly due to population mobility rather than fertility.

Inflation remains a strong factor in rising school costs. Since inflation is interwoven in the general economy, there is little school officials can do about it.

The big issues today in school finance reform center on the quality of school programs. Critics are asking to what extent cost is related to quality. In a different vein, minority group students, poor students, special education students, and others are asking through the courts whether they are getting the quality of education to which they are entitled. Let us first examine the relation of cost to quality.

The answer to the question of whether it costs more to improve the quality of education is "Yes," but the issue is much more complex than this simple affirmative reply suggests.

Analyses done by Paul Mort and his students have provided considerable information on the cost-quality question. They separated the elements that go into schooling into two categories: elements of environment which are beyond the control of the school and certain decision elements which the school can control.

Noncontrollable elements include such variables as size of the community, educational level of the population, and the potential and abilities of all the schoolchildren. These elements must be accounted for in attempting to look at the results of schooling. Controllable elements include such items as local tax levies, the allocation of resources, and student time spent in various programs.

The results of schooling may be expressed either as services produced or as the school system's impact upon the learning of the students. The critics usually prefer the achievement outcome, but both kinds of outcomes need to be examined for understanding the problem.

Some of the factors that Mort and his associates found were related to the quality of the school include net current expenditure per student, average teacher's salary, professional-to-student ratio, small-item expenditure per student, and professional specialist-to-student ratio.

For impact-on-student variables, Mort and his associates discovered that more money permitted development of new aspects of education. The variety of impact found included the fact that high-expenditure schools generally do a better job of teaching the basic skills and of interrelating areas of knowledge than do low-expenditure schools. They found also that high-expenditure schools far excel low-expenditure schools on such matters as individualizing instruction, developing special talents of children, and using teaching processes designed to develop creativity.

One issue not explored extensively in these studies was the kind of mix of factors which produce optimum student outcomes.

The foregoing findings, especially on achievement, have been corroborated by investigators independently of Mort and his associates.

Most others who have studied the cost-quality relationship have been concerned chiefly with

The big issues today in school finance center on the quality of school reform. Critics are asking to what extent cost is related to quality.

achievement as the outcome of schooling, and they have attempted to estimate and control by statistical means the impact of environmental variables. The Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has summarized a representative group of studies in order to reach a greater understanding of the relationship of achievement to resources allocated to education.

Their findings support the earlier information inasmuch as all the major studies of school spending and student achievement show some relation between school inputs and outputs. The implication of these studies is a reminder that school officials do not have the option of making expenditures on environmental factors, but they are responsible for allocating funds for the purposes they control. How they do this makes a difference.

The cost-quality relationship aside, in recent years, many persons have made a great effort to achieve equality of educational opportunity through the courts.

The Rodriguez case symbolized pressure for school finance reform. Parents of Chicano children in the Edgewood Independent School District of San Antonio instituted the case in the summer of 1968. It was a class action on behalf of all schoolchildren who happen to reside in various school districts having a low property tax base.

In December 1971 a three-judge District Court ruled for the parents. The case then came before the Supreme Court to review the District Court's holding that the Equal Protection Clause of the U.S. Constitution bars Texas from allocating funds for public education on the basis of wealth other than the wealth of the state as a whole. On March 21 of this year, the Supreme Court reversed the decision of the District Court.

This case was but one of many, such as the Serrano opinion in California, aimed at the same issue. Also, this approach to obtaining equal educational opportunity through the courts had been building for several years by persons who were sympathetic to issues involved in educational equity for all.

The action by the U.S. Supreme Court has slowed down reform efforts in some states. In some instances, state court action has made the point for the states. In others, state legislatures

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☐ The tenth annual report on the current status of school finance by NEA Research shows that, during the last 10 years, public education has witnessed many changes which directly affect school finance. These include:

- After many years of increases, public school enrollment in 1972-73 dropped 66,000 below the 1971-72 figure. The loss is the net result of a decrease of 297,000 elementary pupils, partially offset by an increase of 231,000 secondary students.
- Private school enrollments, which peaked at 6.3 million 10 years ago, are now 5.2 million.
- Increases in enrollment in higher education have also leveled off to the lowest gain since the early 1950's.
- The number of classroom teachers has increased from 1.5 million to 2.1 million during the past decade. In 1972-73, only 14,000 new teachers were added—a new low in gain for the decade.
- In 1972-73, average salaries of classroom teachers increased $409 or 4.2 percent over the previous year's level. However, inflation reduced the value of these dollars 0.2 percent below their 1971-72 worth. In 10 years, average salaries increased nearly 70 percent, but the net gain in purchasing power was less than 20 percent.

Federal, state, and local shares of revenue to support public education have changed only slightly over the past 10 years. In 1972-73, the federal share was 7.8 percent; the state, 41.0 percent; and the local, 51.2 percent. School districts raise over 90 percent of their revenue from local property taxes. ☐

This information and the charts in this feature are excerpted from *Financial Status of the Public Schools, 1973: Research Report 1973-R4* by NEA Research. Copyright ©1973 by the National Education Association. All rights reserved.

SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

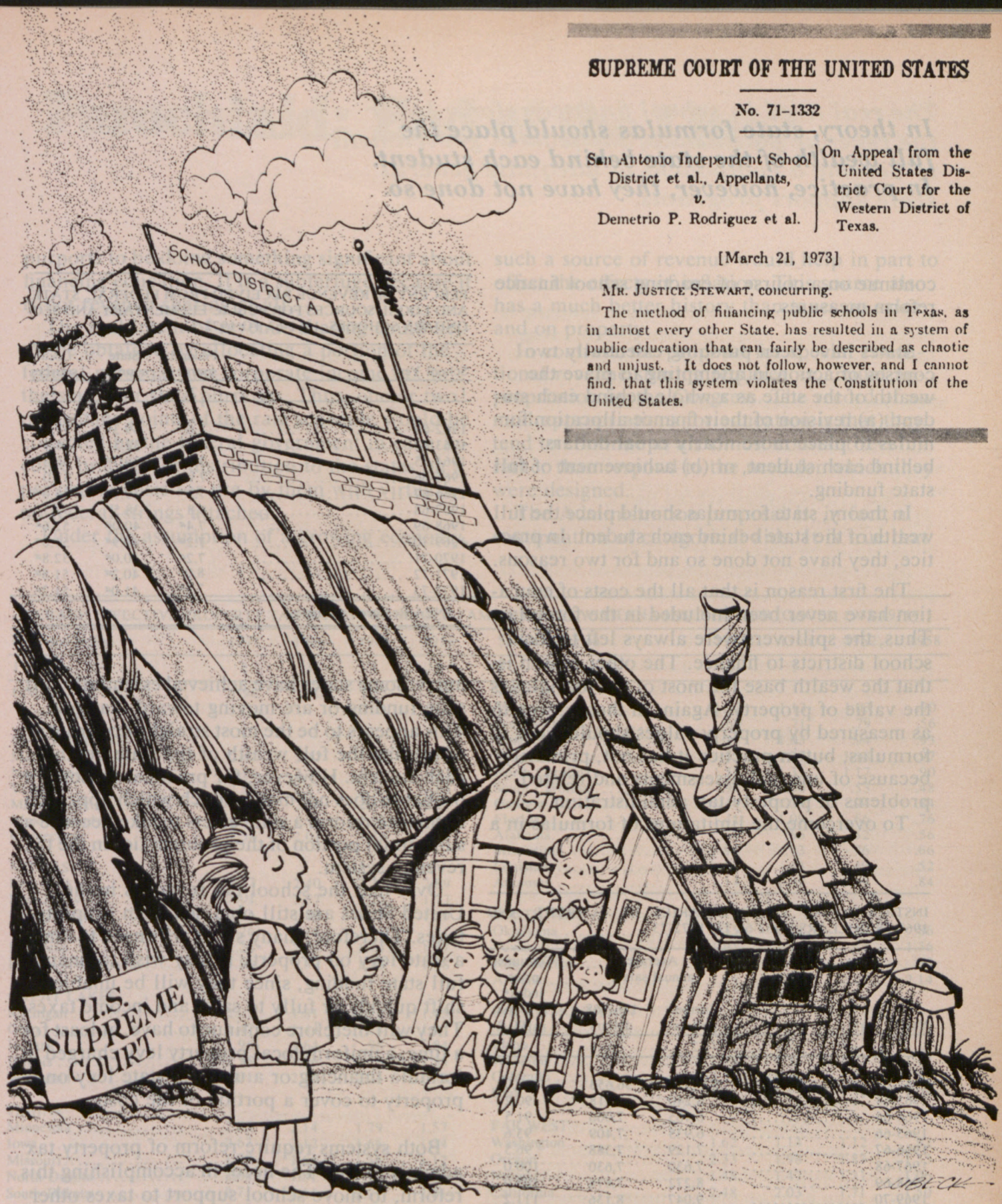
No. 71-1332

San Antonio Independent School District et al., Appellants, *v.* Demetrio P. Rodriguez et al. | On Appeal from the United States District Court for the Western District of Texas.

[March 21, 1973]

MR. JUSTICE STEWART, concurring.

The method of financing public schools in Texas, as in almost every other State, has resulted in a system of public education that can fairly be described as chaotic and unjust. It does not follow, however, and I cannot find, that this system violates the Constitution of the United States.



"Sure, it's unjust, but it's not unconstitutional!"

The above cartoon by Norman Lubeck is reprinted with permission from *Compact*, the magazine of the Education Commission of the States.

In theory, state formulas should place the full wealth of the state behind each student. In practice, however, they have not done so.

continue on a course of enacting school finance reform measures.

States have been pursuing essentially two courses of action in attempting to place the wealth of the state as a whole behind each student: (a) revision of their finance allocation formulas to place more nearly equal dollars behind each student, or (b) achievement of full state funding.

In theory, state formulas should place the full wealth of the state behind each student. In practice, they have not done so and for two reasons.

The first reason is that all the costs of education have never been included in the formulas. Thus, the spillovers were always left to local school districts to finance. The other reason is that the wealth base for most of the formulas is the value of property. Again, in theory, wealth as measured by property values should work in formulas, but in practice it has not, primarily because of unequal assessments and related problems of property tax administration.

To overcome the limitations of formulas in a hurry, some states have achieved essentially full state funding or are moving toward that goal. This appears to be the most straightforward way of placing the full wealth of the state behind each student. However, for practical reasons, it probably does not matter much which approach to finance reform a state elects to take because a substantial portion of the problem lies in the tax revenue system.

Over half the school tax revenues in the United States are still obtained from property taxes. Therefore, many states will need to make a state levy on property if they wish to finance full state funding, since they will be unable to shift quickly or fully to sales and income taxes. They will therefore continue to have, at least for a time, a uniform local property levy charged to formula financing or a uniform state levy on property to cover a portion of the costs.

Both systems require reform of property tax administration. The need, in accomplishing this reform, to move school support to taxes other than property focuses attention on the role of the federal government.

The Administration proposal for special educational revenue sharing is a subterfuge that

PERCENT OF REVENUE RECEIVED FROM FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL SOURCES FOR PUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1962-63 TO 1972-73

School Year	Federal sources	State sources	Local sources
1	2	3	4
1962-63	3.6[a]	39.3[a]	57.1
1963-64	4.4	39.3	56.4
1964-65	3.8[a]	39.7[a]	56.5[a]
1965-66	7.9	39.1	53.0
1966-67	7.9[a]	39.1[a]	53.0[a]
1967-68	8.8	38.5	52.3
1968-69	7.4[a]	40.0[a]	52.6[a]
1969-70	7.2[a]	40.9[a]	51.8[a]
1970-71	7.2[a]	40.0[a]	52.8[a]
1971-72	8.0[a]	40.2[a]	51.8[a]
1972-73	7.8[a]	41.0[a]	51.2[a]

[a]NEA Research estimates.

INSTRUCTIONAL STAFF SALARIES IN CURRENT AND 1967-68 DOLLARS, 1962-63 TO 1972-73

Year	Average annual salary: Current dollars	Average annual salary: 1967-68 dollars	Consumer price index[a] 1967-68 =100.0
1	2	3	4
1962-63	$ 5,921	$6,653	89.0
1963-64	6,240	6,918	90.2
1964-65	6,465	7,066	91.5
1965-66	6,935	7,409	93.6
1966-67	7,129	7,388	96.5
1967-68	7,630	7,630	100.0
1968-69	8,272	7,878	105.0
1969-70	9,047	8,136	111.2
1970-71	9,689	8,088	119.8
1971-72	10,213	8,243	123.9
1972-73	10,643	8,225	129.4[b]

[a]CPI converted to school year basis by NEA Research.
[b]Estimated by NEA Research.

purports to be doing something significant about financing education. It is a subterfuge because it is not revenue sharing at all.

The real intent of revenue sharing could better be obtained by allocating a portion of the federal personal and corporate income tax to the states for state purposes. Thus, one or two percentage points of the rate schedule would be collected by the federal government in each income bracket for distribution to the states on a per capita basis for use by them with virtually no federal strings attached.

Under the assumption of a growing economy, such a source of revenue would help in part to offset the effects of inflation. This source also has a much better history than taxes on sales and on property.

In contrast, the proposal for special educational revenue sharing requires an annual appropriation by the Congress. The record of annual appropriations for education is that they tend to continue at an almost constant level rather than respond to the need for which they were designed.

The Administration proposal is, in fact, a continuation of categorical aids. It is true that

AVERAGE EFFECTIVE PROPERTY TAX RATES FOR SINGLE-FAMILY HOMES WITH FHA-INSURED MORTGAGES, 1958-1971[a]

State and region	1971	1966	1962	1958	State and region	1971	1966	1962	1958
1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
UNITED STATES	1.98	1.70	1.53	1.34	SOUTHEAST				
					Virginia	1.32	1.13	1.03	.90
					West Virginia	.69	.71	.79	.56
NEW ENGLAND					Kentucky	1.27	1.03	.94	.93
Maine	2.43	2.17	1.81	1.58	Tennessee	1.53	1.37	1.18	.97
New Hampshire	3.14	2.38	2.03	1.81	North Carolina	1.58	1.31	1.17	.90
Vermont	2.53	2.27	2.10	1.63	South Carolina	.94	.60	.53	.48
Massachusetts	3.13	2.76	2.47	2.21	Georgia	1.44	1.30	.94	.84
Rhode Island	2.21	1.96	1.93	1.67	Florida	1.41	1.09	.66	.76
Connecticut	2.38	2.01	1.85	1.44	Alabama	.85	.66	.52	.56
					Mississippi	.96	.93	.76	.66
MIDEAST					Louisiana	.56	.43	.49	.52
New York	2.72	2.40	2.23	2.09	Arkansas	1.14	1.09	1.09	.84
New Jersey	3.01	2.57	2.22	1.77					
Pennsylvania	2.16	1.88	1.75	1.50	SOUTHWEST				
Delaware	1.26	1.14	.91	.71	Oklahoma	1.35	1.11	.86	.86
Maryland	2.24	2.05	1.74	1.47	Texas	1.91	1.62	1.44	1.36
District of Columbia	1.80	1.37	1.18	1.08	New Mexico	1.70	1.30	.98	.93
					Arizona	1.65	2.41	2.27	2.14
GREAT LAKES									
Michigan	2.02	1.81	1.76	1.45	ROCKY MOUNTAIN				
Ohio	1.47	1.44	1.24	1.07	Montana	2.19	1.70	1.58	1.32
Indiana	1.96	1.64	.96	.84	Idaho	1.72	1.23	1.13	1.14
Illinois	2.15	1.96	1.79	1.35	Wyoming	1.38	1.34	1.27	1.17
Wisconsin	3.01	2.31	2.24	1.82	Colorado	2.45	2.20	1.85	1.72
					Utah	1.49	1.52	1.31	1.05
PLAINS									
Minnesota	2.05	2.14	1.79	1.57	FAR WEST				
Iowa	2.63	2.12	1.66	1.34	Washington	1.62	1.14	1.12	.92
Missouri	1.79	1.64	1.36	1.12	Oregon	2.33	1.98	1.83	1.55
North Dakota	2.08	1.81	1.70	1.54	Nevada	1.48	1.47	1.31	1.06
South Dakota	2.71	2.64	2.31	2.01	California	2.48	2.03	1.71	1.50
Nebraska	3.15	2.67	1.84	1.90	Alaska	1.61	1.42	1.24	1.12
Kansas	2.17	1.96	1.92	1.65	Hawaii	.92	.81	.77	.62

SOURCE: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. *Financing Schools and Property Tax Relief—A State Responsibility,* Report A-40. Washington DC: the Commission, January 1973. p. 22.

[a]Effective tax rate is the percentage that tax liability is of the market or true value of the house.

The real need in school finance reform is for the revenue potential of the federal government to become a component of adequate general state support programs.

some greater amount of flexibility in fund use is proposed. This is accomplished by proposing fewer categories and by a provision for transferability of a portion of the funds. The real need in school finance reform is for the revenue potential of the federal government to become a component of adequate general state support programs.

Some critics suggest school finance reform can be accomplished better in a radically different mode—by use of a voucher system.

By simple definition, the proposed vouchers are scrip worth a certain sum of money given to parents to be "spent" for their children's education at any public or private school. As suggested by economist Milton Friedman, vouchers would provide the competition of the marketplace in the matter of educational choice. Thus, parents and their children would have several different possibilities for schooling.

For those interested in innovation, the notion of an unregulated voucher system corresponds with dreams of what freedom is really like. On the surface, such a system appears attractive for its promise to stimulate alternative schooling and, at the same time, to improve the quality of education by means of the choice process. However, careful thought reveals that under the voucher system some types of recent gains in our society would probably be lost unless safeguards were provided. For example, what would happen to the progress made in reducing discrimination and in reducing inequalities?

The question then arises of whether private schools that participate in a tax-supported voucher plan are involved in state action. If they are, would not they lose some of the privileges they have as private institutions? Would parochial schools be willing to give up sectarian religion courses? Would parochial schools be willing to give up Bible reading and prayer? Would private schools be involved in rulings against racial imbalance?

The discussion on vouchers needs to be expanded to include tax credits. A state or federal income-tax credit for private schooling would have the same functional consequences as a voucher. The Supreme Court response to the New York State case last June suggests that tax credit systems may conflict with the constitutional separation of church and state.

The major pathway to school finance reform is legislative and not judicial. The many changes needed to more nearly reach the ideal of educational equality will be legislated by school boards, state legislatures, and the Congress. Among these, the heaviest responsibility continues to lie with the states because education is a state responsibility. The role of the courts will be to pass judgment from time to time on whether the parts of the structure in question may reasonably be expected to produce equality. □

Some NEA Materials on This Topic

Financing Education: Who Benefits? Who Pays? 1972 yearbook. National Conference on School Finance proceedings. 274 pp. Stock #381-12064. $3.50.

Rankings of the States, 1973. Ranks states on enrollment and attendance, teachers' salaries, general financial resources, and so on. Research Report. 78 pp. Stock #435-25516. $2.

School Finance Campaign Handbook. Public Relations Bookshelf Series for Education Associations. 59 pp. Stock #381-11988. $1.

Schools and Your Money. Answers taxpayers' questions about how to make school financing more equitable and what return they are now getting on their investment in the schools. Stock #051-02224. Package of 30 leaflets, $1.50.

Order from NEA Customer Service, 1201 16th St., N.W., Washington, DC 20036.

Dr. Heller and Dr. Hornbostel spoke at greater length on these topics at the Critical Issues Conference of the NEA Convention last summer in Portland, Oregon.

Parochiaid: End of the Line?

By STEPHEN J. POLLAK
Partner in the Washington, DC, law firm of Shea and Gardner. Mr. Pollak filed friend of the court briefs on behalf of the NEA and the Horace Mann League in the parochiaid cases recently decided by the Supreme Court.

☐ **On June 25, 1973, the last day of its 1972** term, the Supreme Court of the United States issued two landmark decisions striking down Pennsylvania and New York statutes whose primary effect was to provide state aid for parochial education in their states.

In *Sloan* v. *Lemon,* a 6-3 decision written by Mr. Justice Powell, the Court held unconstitutional Pennsylvania's Parent Reimbursement Act for Nonpublic Education, which provided funds to reimburse parents for a portion of tuition expenses they incurred in sending their children to nonpublic schools.

And in *Committee for Public Education and Religious Liberty* v. *Nyquist,* the Court, by margins of 8-1 and 6-3, speaking through Mr. Justice Powell, held unconstitutional the various parts of a comprehensive New York statute providing monetary grants by the state to nonpublic schools serving low-income families for the maintenance and repair of buildings, tuition grants by the state to low-income parents of pupils attending nonpublic schools, and tax benefits for parents who pay tuition to send their children to nonpublic schools.

In filing *amicus curiae* (friend of the court) briefs in both cases, NEA stated its interest thus:

> The maintenance of a system of public education is a "paramount responsibility" that "ranks at the very apex of the function" of a State. . . . Public funding of sectarian schools, whether through direct subsidy or through indirect means, such as tax benefits to parents of children who attend them, could have a serious effect on the capability of the public schools to discharge this "paramount responsibility."

First, such funding would divert badly needed public money to these religious institutions or to those who support them. There is at this time a financial crisis not only in private education, but also in public education. The one crisis ought not be alleviated by means that exacerbate the other.

Second, such funding could lead to a renewal of the often bitter church-state controversies which the First Amendment seeks to avoid and the injury to the educational environment in the public schools that such religious divisiveness would engender.

Lastly, to the extent that funding of private sectarian education increases the enrollment at such schools, it will reduce the pluralistic composition of public school student bodies so vital to the democratic ideal and to the educational process itself.

In assessing the significance of the *Sloan* and *Nyquist* decisions, it is necessary first to understand the developing constitutional law under the Religion Clauses of the First Amendment. The first two clauses of that Amendment state that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." These clauses have been applied to the states through the Fourteenth Amendment.

Most of the decisions arising under the first clause, known as the Establishment Clause, fall within two general categories: those dealing with religious activities within the public schools and those involving public aid in varying forms to sectarian educational institutions.

Examples of the first category are the Supreme Court decisions outlawing prayer (1962) and Bible reading (1963) in the public schools and striking down antievolutionary limitations on public school study (1968).

The more important decisions, at least with respect to recent efforts to secure state aid for religious education, fall naturally in the second category. Here, as Justice Powell noted in *Nyquist,* the cases "have presented some of the most perplexing questions to come before the Court," and the decisions have gone both ways.

In *Everson* v. *Board of Education* (1947), the Court, in a 5-4 decision, approved a program of reimbursement to parents of public as well as parochial school children for bus fares paid in connection with transportation to and from school, a program which the Court characterized as approaching the "verge" of impermissible state aid.

In *Board of Education* v. *Allen* (1968), the Court upheld a New York law authorizing the provision of secular textbooks for all children in grades 7 through 12 attending public and nonpublic schools. In addition, the Court's decision in *Walz* v. *Tax Commission* (1970), upholding local tax exemptions for church owned property, heavily influenced the drafting of the tax benefit provisions struck down in *Nyquist.*

In *Tilton* v. *Richardson* (1971), the Court approved federal grants of funds for the construction of facilities to be used for clearly secular purposes by public and nonpublic colleges, applying a different standard to colleges on the presumption that they were less sectarian than parochial schools and serve students at a less impressionable age.

On the other side, the Court in 1971 decisions in *Lemon* v. *Kurtzman* and *Early* v. *DiCenso,* struck down as unconstitutional a Pennsylvania statute *(Lemon)* that provided financial support directly to church-related elementary and secondary schools by way of reimbursement for the cost of teachers' salaries, textbooks, and instructional materials in specified secular subjects; as well as a Rhode Island statute *(DiCenso)* under which the state paid directly to teachers in nonpublic elementary schools a supplement of 15 percent of their annual salaries.

The proponents of parochiaid in New York and Pennsylvania tried to draft statutes consistent with the types of aid the Court had found permissible in the past. By assisting parents of students, rather than schools, and by including parents of children in all nonpublic schools, sectarian or otherwise, they tried to meet objections the Court had noted in previous cases. And by using the tax benefit route, instead of direct payments from the state treasury, they attempted to build on the *Walz* decision upholding tax exemptions for church property.

In order that the New York and Pennsylvania statutes would pass constitutional scrutiny, however, the proponents of parochiaid had to show that these statutes met three "tests" set out by the Court in *Lemon* v. *Kurtzman* for determining whether a statute offends the Establishment Clause:

"First, the statute must have a secular legislative purpose; second, its principal or primary effect must be one that neither advances nor inhibits religion . . .; finally, the statute must not foster an excessive government entanglement with religion."

The NEA briefs filed jointly with the Horace Mann League in the Supreme Court bypassed the first and third of the tests and argued that, regardless of the sophisticated draftsmanship of the statutes, their "principal or primary effect" was to aid religionists and religious schools, since more than 90 percent of the children attending nonpublic schools in the two states are in religious schools. The Supreme Court agreed.

The Supreme Court majority, speaking through Justice Powell, first outlined the basic principles:

". . . it is now firmly established that a law may be one 'respecting the establishment of religion' even though its consequence is not to promote a 'state religion' . . . and even though it does not aid one religion more than another but merely benefits all religions alike. . . . It is equally well established, however, that not every law that confers an 'indirect,' 'remote,' or 'incidental' benefit upon religious institutions is, for that reason alone, constitutionally invalid."

The Court then proceeded to consider

The Court's decisions may finally convince candidates and elected officials that they should stop promising federal aid to nonpublic elementary and secondary schools.

whether the statutes exhibited a "secular purpose." In each case the state legislature had appended a recitation of legislative purposes to the law that had undoubtedly been drawn with this issue in mind.

Without looking behind the recitations, the Court accepted the "propriety, and fully secular content" of the states' purposes—particularly, their "concern for an already overburdened public school system that might suffer in the event that a significant percentage of children presently attending nonpublic schools should abandon those schools in favor of the public schools."

Thereafter, the Court considered the point, made foremost by the NEA-Horace Mann briefs, that the primary effect of the aid programs was to advance religion. First, it took up the provisions of the New York statute for grants for the maintenance and repair of schools in low-income areas. It noted that "virtually all" of those nonpublic schools would be Roman Catholic schools, observing that the law made no attempt to restrict use of the grant funds to the upkeep of facilities used exclusively for secular purposes. Thus, the Court held that the "maintenance and repair provisions violate the Establishment Clause because their effect, inevitably, is to subsidize and advance the religious mission of sectarian schools."

The Court then turned to the tuition reimbursement mechanism in both the Pennsylvania and New York statutes. It held that the program "fails the 'effect' test for much the same reasons" as those governing the maintenance and repair grants. The Court emphasized (a) that tuition grants could not constitutionally be made directly to religious schools without a guarantee limiting their use to secular purposes and (b) that the fact that the grants would go to the parents of schoolchildren rather than to the schools themselves was not of constitutional significance when the "great majority" of the nonpublic schools in the two states are sectarian.

Lastly, the Court considered the provisions of the New York statute providing a tax benefit to parents of nonpublic school children. It rejected the state's reliance upon *Walz v. Tax Commission,* which sustained the property tax exemption for religious organizations, noting that the property tax exemption was rooted in history and tended to reinforce the separation of Church and State and to avoid excessive government entanglement with religion.

The Court found a further significant difference in that the exemption challenged in *Walz* was not restricted to a class composed exclusively or even predominantly of religious institutions while the "tax reductions authorized by this law flow primarily to the parents of children attending sectarian, nonpublic schools."

It would seem, then, that as to each of the aid programs in issue—the maintenance and repair grants, the tuition reimbursement mechanism, and the tax benefit authorization—the factor of controlling significance was that, although the statutes would aid all nonpublic schools, in fact, 90 percent of the children attending nonpublic schools in the two states are enrolled in schools that are controlled by religious organizations or have the purpose of propagating and promoting religious faith. This fact is what the Court

(Continued on page 96)

NEA ON VOUCHERS

The NEA has expressed its opposition to voucher plans in Resolution 73-29:

"The NEA believes that the so-called 'voucher plan' under which education is financed by federal or state grants to parents could lead to racial, economic, and social isolation of children and weaken or destroy the public school system.

"The Association urges the enactment of federal and state legislation prohibiting the establishment of such plans and calls upon its affiliates to seek from members of Congress and state legislatures support for this legislation."

The Role of Public Education

By ROBERT MAYNARD HUTCHINS
Chairman, Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Santa Barbara, California.

☐ **The Constitution of the** United States contemplates government by discussion, with all citizens participating in it. The members of a political community do not have to agree with one another—the First Amendment, which deals with freedom of speech, assumes that Americans will not—but they do need to understand one another. The aim is twofold, unity and diversity, an aim we see reflected in John Stuart's Mill's argument for public education in his essay, *On Liberty.*

If this is the ideal, what part does public education have to play in it? Those who have been leading the antischool campaign have ignored this question. Yet it is, after all, *the* question. It cannot be answered by saying that we should have no schools at all or that we should let our children go or that we should encourage them to pursue their own interests or that we should have schools they could drop into and out of as they pleased or that the schools should be turned over to parents or private businesses, for such decisions would promote cultural, social, and economic segregation and the kind of individualism Tocqueville saw as a danger to every democracy.

The doctrine of every man for himself, or every nation for itself, loses its charm in an interdependent world. This doctrine has to give way before the idea of a world community. We have to understand and rely on our common humanity if we are to survive in any condition worthy to be called human. Everything else sinks into triviality in comparison with this task. To consider most of the topics of current education discussion is irrelevant to the real issue we face. So is the great antischool campaign, except that if it succeeds, we shall be deprived of the one institution that could most effectively assist in drawing out our common humanity.

Democracy is the best form of government precisely because it calls upon the citizen to be self-governing and to take his part in the self-governing political community. This is the answer to the individual/community dilemma. The individual cannot become a human being without the democratic political community; and the democratic political community cannot be maintained without independent citizens who are qualified to govern themselves and others through the democratic political community.

The primary aim of the educational system in a democratic country conscious of the impending world community is to draw out the common humanity of those committed to its charge. This requires careful avoidance of that which may be immediately interesting but which is transitory, or that which is thought to have some practical value under the circumstances of the time but which is likely to be valueless if the circumstances change.

The most elementary truth about education is the one most often disregarded: It takes time. The educator must therefore remember that unless he wants to be a custodian or a sitter or a playmate, he must ask himself whether what he and his pupils are doing will have any relevance 10 years from now. It does not seem an adequate reply that they were having fun, any more than it would be to say they were learning a trade. Nor would it be much more adequate to say they were learning what their parents wanted. The community includes parents but is not confined to them. Taxes for the support of schools are paid by bachelors, spinsters, childless couples, and the elderly on the theory that the whole community is interested in and benefits from its schools.

The first object of any school must be to equip the student with the tools of learning. "Communication skills," which is the contemporary jargon for reading, writing, figuring, speaking, and listening, appear to have permanent relevance. These arts are important in any society at any time. They are more important in a democratic society than in any other, because the citizens of a democratic society have to understand one another. They are indispensable in a world community: They are arts shared by people everywhere. Without them the individual is deprived and the community is too. Learning these arts cannot be left to the choices of children or parents.

The second object of any school— and this is vital to a democratic community— should be to

If the antischool campaign succeeds, we shall be deprived of the one institution that could most effectively assist in drawing out our common humanity.

open new worlds to the young.

Whatever the charms of the neighborhood school, whatever the pleasures of touring one's native city, whatever the allure of the present, emphasis upon the immediate environment and its current condition must narrow the mind and prevent understanding of the wider national or world community and any real comprehension of the present. Hence, those who would center education on the interests of children and on their surroundings are working contrary to the demands contemporary society is making upon any educational system.

The third object of any education institution must be to get the young to understand their cultural heritage. This, too, is in the interest of the individual and the community. Comprehension of the cultural heritage is the means by which the bonds uniting the community are strengthened. The public school is the only agency that can be entrusted with this obligation.

Within the limits set by the Constitution and by the necessity of allocating resources in the most economical way, school districts, schools, and classes should be as small as possible. Even if, according to the Coleman Report, such changes would not materially affect the achievement of children, they would facilitate variety and experimentation, and they would make schools less formidable to those who must attend.

Ways must be found to break the lockstep, the system by which all pupils proceed at the same pace through the same curriculum for the same number of years. The disadvantages of small schools can be overcome by building them in clusters, each with somewhat different courses and methods and permitting students to avail themselves of anything offered in any one. This is an extension of the idea of dual enrollment or shared time, which now exists everywhere, and which allows students in one school to take advantage of what is taught in another, even if one is private and the other public.

Variety in the methods and curriculum is one way of breaking the lockstep. Another is allowing the student to proceed at his own rate of speed. Under the present system the slow learner is eventually thrown into despair because he cannot keep up, and the fast learner is in the same condition because he has "nothing to do." If we are to have a graded curriculum, we can overcome some of the handicaps it imposes by substituting examinations for time spent and encouraging the student to present himself for them whenever in his opinion he is ready to take them.

It is self-evident that if a course of study is designed to provide the minimum requisites for democratic citizenship, nobody can be permitted to fail. If, then, the basic curriculum is revised as proposed above, so that it is limited to studies essential to the exercise of citizenship, it follows that grades would be eliminated and with them the invidious distinction between winners and losers. We have reason to believe that everybody is educable. The rate and method of education may vary; the aim of basic education is the same with all individuals, and the obligation of the public schools is to achieve it with all. On this principle, if there is failure, it is the failure of the school, not of the pupil.

I take for granted the adoption or adaption of many of those reforms about which so much noise has been made of late. The critics of the schools have performed a public service in calling attention to shortcomings that can be repaired by keeping them in mind and working on them. Interest, for example, can be restored to schooling without coming to the indefensible conclusion that whatever is not immediately interesting to children should be omitted from their education.

About some other matters, the elementary and secondary schools can do little or nothing. They cannot do much to change parental attitudes, though they should certainly try by keeping in touch with the families of pupils. They can do nothing about the socioeconomic status or the slum environment of the children in their charge. The present efforts in preschool education have a trifling effect in improving the conditions of the earliest years in the lives of slum children. The schools can do nothing about the high taxes that infuriate their no-nonsense, hardheaded critics. They can see to it that money is not wasted, but the definition of waste depends upon an understanding of the purpose of the activity and the best methods of accomplishing it.

The purpose of the activity is the crucial question. The purpose of the public schools is not accomplished by having them free, universal, and compulsory. They may do many things for the young: They may amuse them, comfort them, look after their health, and keep them off the streets. But they are not public schools unless they start their pupils toward an understanding of what it means to be a self-governing citizen of a self-governing political community.

The conclusion of Christopher Jencks's book, *Inequality,* is that schools should be pleasant places for children. Because one child's pleasure is another child's poison, schools should vary according to the preferences children display. Why the power of the state should be invoked to compel children to enjoy themselves remains obscure. If a child and his parents agree that he has a better time at home than he has at school, why should he not stay home? If he and his parents have no interest in education, and if the community has no interest in having him educated, why not simply give up education?

This is in effect what Carl Bereiter advocates in an article in the *Harvard Educational Review,* called, in all seriousness, "Schools Without Education." I can understand him only as proposing the abandonment of all institutions he calls educational.

To Mr. Bereiter education is "the deliberate development of human personality, the making of citizens. . . . Schools cannot cease to be places where intellectual growth and personality development go on, but they can cease to be places where an effort is made to direct or shape these processes. . . . Parents typically educate, and it's my contention . . . that they are the only ones who have a clear-cut right to educate."

If parents are the only ones who have a clear-cut right to educate, the interest of the community in education or in "the making of citizens" is at best unclear, Bereiter, like Jencks, favors voucher plans that would enable parents to decide how tax dollars would be spent on their children.

He proposes to retain schools, apparently compulsory, for two purposes: child care and training in reading, writing, and arithmetic. If parents have the only clear-cut right to educate their children, one would think they have the only clear-cut right to determine what care their children had outside the home or indeed whether they needed any at all. If compulsory education is unjustifiable, compulsory child care seems less so.

If parents are for any reason not interested in having the child learn to read, write, and calculate, why should the state assert the right to "train" him to do so? Reading, writing, and arithmetic are the essential tools of education. They have other uses, but a parent unconcerned about education might feel that he did not want his child to waste much time acquiring them. If education is the exclusive territory of the parent, his conclusion on reading, writing, and arithmetic should have great weight.

Since reading and writing, if not arithmetic, are certain to have an educational effect, depending on what is read and written in learning to read and write, training in these activities comes dangerously close to the process that parents, and parents only, have a right to direct.

Mr. Bereiter says, "The need for training arises from the incompleteness of normal experience." This is precisely the way the need for education arises. To intimate that the normal experience of a slum child does not teach him arithmetic, whereas it does "make a citizen" out of him is to display a lamentable ignorance of the facts of life. Consider the implications of Bereiter's recommendation that after training is completed, we should "then simply provide enough resources in the environment that the child can put the skills to use if he feels inclined."

The conclusions of Jencks and Bereiter are based on the proposition that schools make no difference. The logical result would be to abolish them or at least any compulsion to attend them. This would also be the result of the opposite argument, advanced by Joel H. Spring: that schools make too much difference. In his book, *Education and the Rise of the Corporate State,* the community is the villain. It uses the schools as an "instrument of social control," to fit the young into the established social, economic, and political structure. The power of the school is enormous, and it must be broken in order to achieve democracy, which means "freedom to choose one's own goals and the opportunity to develop one's own life-style."

The critics of the schools have performed a public service in calling attention to shortcomings that can be repaired.

Whereas Jencks and Bereiter ignore the community and make light of schools as ineffective, Spring thinks of the community as the modern Medusa and finds the schools all too effective in her service. He cannot stand "socialization." Neither can I, chiefly because I do not know what it means. When it appears, as it often does, to be synonymous with Carl Bereiter's definition of the purpose of education—making citizens—it seems sensible enough.

According to Spring: "The solution is not to change the goals and directions of socialization and social control. This is impossible. As long as the public schools take responsibility for the socialization of the child, social adaptation to the institution becomes inevitable. . . . The only possible solution is to end the power of the schools." If "socialization" as Spring uses the word can be equated with "education" as Bereiter uses it, then the way to end the power of the schools is to restrict their educational efforts along the lines Jencks and Bereiter propose. This means the community would have no interest in what went on in the schools.

The novel definition of democracy put forward by Spring—freedom to choose one's own goals and the opportunity to develop one's own life-style—leads to the conclusion, by what it omits as much as by what it contains, that there can be no such thing as a democratic community anyway. A community of any kind must impose some limits on the freedom to choose one's own goals and develop one's own life-style. Those who talk about a community at all, even those who refer to it in the most high-minded, disinterested, and (it seems to me) reasonable way, play a consistently fiendish role in Spring's book.

There is no easy way by which a political community can make itself better. It seems doubtful that it can do so by leaving education, "the making of citizens," to chance. The whims of children are unreliable guides and the vagaries of parents not much better. There is some evidence that compulsory schooling came to existence to rescue children from their families, and neglect and exploitation by parents are visible in every American city.

How, then, do we change the status quo? If I understand the authors discussed here, they hold we can do nothing about it through educational institutions. Jencks and Bereiter believe these institutions can make no difference. Spring says they can do nothing but sustain the existing order. What would happen if the schools or compulsory attendance at them were abolished and "the making of citizens" were left to parents? The status quo would be maintained—or would deteriorate.

This must be so because those who had the power would start with all the advantages, and their children would end with them. The restraints now placed on snobbishness and exclusivity, on prejudice, would disappear and any idea of the common good would vanish into thin air.

But perhaps there is nothing in that idea or in the idea of community, anyway. Since there is no space for argument, I shall have to content myself for the moment with the assertion that man has never been able to live without the community and that, if he is to live well, he must try to make the community as good as it can possibly be.

The American political community is based on the notion of the continuous engagement of all the people in dialogue about their common concerns. I am aware of the obstacles that make this dialogue an ideal rather than a reality. I am also aware that an educational system operates within severe limitations. It cannot proclaim a revolution and survive.

But to proclaim rededication to basic American principles, to announce a commitment to prepare the rising generation for that dialogue which it should carry on, to enunciate the reasons why the rising generation should be prepared, and to work out the methods by which it could be is within the scope—and I hope the competence—of American educators.

American citizens have an awful responsibility: They have to try to understand the world. Of course the public schools cannot provide this understanding. But statistics showing the dubious results of our present efforts will not convince me that it is impossible to formulate an educational program that will make a difference in the degree of understanding the citizen achieves. □

Mr. Hutchins argued the case for public schools at greater length in the 1972 edition of The Great Ideas Today, *published by Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc.*

Opinions Differ on Black Studies

ONE VIEWPOINT

By THOMAS SOWELL
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☐ **Like everything human, black** studies is different in theory than in reality. The systematic study of black people—in the United States and/or around the world—is much needed and long overdue. This says nothing about whether black studies programs as they actually exist are doing a good job or a bad job, or whether they can be expected in the long run to contribute to the solutions or to the problems. It is significant that some outstanding scholars who have devoted their lives to the study of black people are among the bitterest critics of black studies programs.

The problems of black studies programs are not problems with the field of study but with the way these programs were created and the pressures generated within them. After years of ignoring the study of black people, colleges and universities all over the country suddenly started setting up black studies programs at the same time.

Since it takes many years to prepare and train a scholar and educator in any field, in no field can the supply of competent professors be increased quickly. If the schools had suddenly tried to increase their courses in astronomy or mathematics tenfold overnight, these fields would also have suffered a sharp deterioration in quality. As they quickly exhausted the existing pool of scholars, they would have been forced to resort to those less qualified and ultimately to "warm bodies." This has been the fate of black studies—and it has nothing to do with the subject matter, only with the circumstances.

A crucial factor in the establishment of black studies programs has been the pressure of black students for such programs. This is why colleges and universities have acted in such haste and all at the same time. Students' influence over these departments has generally been much greater than their influence over traditional departments, and it is not uncommon in black studies departments for students to have either the power to select faculty or to veto appointments.

Leaving aside philosophical questions as to whether students *should* have such powers, the fact that they have much more power in black studies departments than in any other departments makes black studies a less attractive option to faculty members who are good enough to be able to pick and choose among competing offers. There is no attraction in having a job in which continuation and promotion depend on saying what the students want to hear.

Perhaps the greatest handicap to recruiting well-trained and intellectually accomplished scholars as black studies faculty members is simply the low quality of such programs to begin with. Any organization tends to attract people similar to those who are already in that organization.

At the outset, there were simply not enough real scholars to man all the black studies programs that were created overnight. But even as more able and well-trained young scholars in black history, black sociology, and so on have come out of top graduate schools, they have tended to avoid black studies programs that would make them colleagues of men who were selected for their ideology or charisma and who have little or no academic standing in the college or university.

The reluctance of talented scholars to accept appointments that would compromise their own standing or development is sometimes matched by a reluctance of black studies departments to hire such persons even when they are available.

In some cases, the college or university has recruited many black students who lack the command of language or of systematic analysis necessary to meet exacting standards. The institution is then driven by the logic of the situation to seek similarly deficient teachers and administrators of special programs as people to whom the students can "relate."

At some institutions, black scholars with strong academic records have been rejected for such positions precisely because of their competence. In more extreme cases, black studies officials have acquired a voice or a veto in the selection of black faculty

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Dr. Sowell has taught economics at several universities. He expresses his concern for fellow blacks in his book, *Black Education: Myths and Tragedies*, published in 1972 by David McKay Co., Inc.

The future of special black studies programs and departments looks grim.

members in *other* departments, and again they seek people like themselves rather than people who are an implicit threat to what they represent.

Enrollment in black studies courses has usually been well below anyone's expectations. The number of black students who fought for the establishment of such programs typically far exceeds the number who regularly enroll in black studies courses, much less major in the subject.

This is very revealing—not only in regard to the quality of these programs and the black students' realistic assessments of them—but also in regard to the reasons behind the original drive to set up such programs. The *symbolic* value of black studies was enormous—as a focus for black student feelings and frustrations. There was never any corresponding urgency about its educational aspect, despite some rhetorical flourishes; and the disappointing quality of what emerged did nothing to create a demand.

In some cases, exclusions of white students on grounds that they could not possibly understand "the black experience" have been rescinded when pathetically small enrollments of black students have threatened the jobs of the black studies faculty.

The drive to set up black studies programs and the particular direction these programs took can be understood only against the background of the educational situation of black students generally and of the sudden push for increased black enrollments in colleges and universities.

Many black students have simply not received the kind of education necessary to prepare them for demanding college work, such as that required at Ivy League colleges. There is no need here to assess the relative amounts of blame that should go to the school system, the home, and so forth. There is more than enough blame for everybody. The important fact is that many black students enter college with numerous and serious educational handicaps.

Moreover, the special programs that are set up for black students are oriented toward the question, "What can Harvard (or Yale or Amherst) do to maintain its visibility as an educational leader?" The question is almost never posed in terms of where and in what way the black students can get the best education, in the light of their actual circumstances.

If the central subject were, in fact, the black student rather than the institution and if the approach were to place him where his needs would be best served (rather than to achieve an institutionally acceptable racial body count), it is almost inconceivable that so many black students would be enrolled at universities celebrated for their research output or at elite colleges geared to students who have been prepared for the experience since they were out of diapers.

The preoccupation of the academic world with invidious, and often simpleminded, comparisons has led to the implicit notion that there are bad, good, and best schools and that admission is a question of who "deserves" to be where. In this context, people often "justify" the admission of black students for whom the institution is wholly unsuitable on grounds that it is not the students' "fault" that they do not meet its standards.

The real question—whether the institution meets their needs—is seldom asked; or if it is asked, it is asked in the Utopian sense of seeking to change the institution so that it will cease to be what it is in order to accommodate one portion of its student body. Realistically, this is not going to happen, except in the limited sense that a great research university may find it expedient to set up a separate and unequal program to keep the black students quiet while the university goes about its real business. This is as unnecessary as it is dishonest and destructive.

Everyone does not get a "better" education at a "better" institution—particularly when the institution's reputation is built on its research output, as top reputations are. Many students—white or black—can learn more in an introductory economics course at Wabash College than at Harvard or M.I.T. A student may learn little or nothing at an institution that assumes he has an educational background which he just does not have.

Certainly a course geared to students with a solid math background and/or high reading speeds is soon going to lose anyone without these assets, however much "native ability" he may have. The drive of top institutions to fill their quota (avoiding this word like the plague, of course) has led to a mismatching of black students and educational institu-

tions all up and down the line.

If the Ivy League colleges, because they want a good body count, drain off the black students of state college caliber, then the state colleges will have to get black students who do not meet their standards, unless they want to fall behind in the numbers game.

So it goes, all down the academic pecking order with the net result that great numbers of black students are in over their heads academically and struggling to stay afloat.

The pressures generated by this mismatching are severe. For many a black student, academic problems are compounded by his feeling guilty at having personal advantages over family and friends back in the ghetto. This guilt creates a need to demonstrate to others—and to himself—that he has not sold out, that he is not going to be scared, duped, or corrupted by The Man.

Pressures of a different sort are felt by college officials caught in a cross fire between angry faculty members concerned about standards and militants demanding higher body counts. In this situation, black studies is a political godsend.

Through black studies, students who cannot meet high standards are given low standards; students without the background for academic work can engage in rap sessions instead; students who have trouble relating to whites can segregate themselves with blacks. Of course, what is politically optimal is not educationally optimal, much less socially optimal. It is, in fact, a massive sweeping of problems under the rug. The most hopeful sign is that many black students themselves see this.

The future of special black studies programs and departments looks grim. Small enrollments make their survival a problem, while the inadequate qualifications of most black studies faculties (compared to those of either blacks or whites in traditional departments) make their alternative opportunities for employment too poor to expect them to accept the loss of their jobs without resort to demagoguery.

However, the future of black studies as an avenue of intellectual inquiry looks far more promising. Much interest has been generated in the subject, and it is being pursued by increasing numbers of able scholars outside of black studies programs. The decline and demise of those programs should in fact improve the prospects of fruitful inquiry in this field. □

ANOTHER VIEWPOINT

By RONALD BERESFORD BAILEY
American Council on Education Fellow in Academic Administration, Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton.

□ **In 1970 I wrote a short article** in defense of black studies programs. ("Why Black Studies?" *Saint Louis University Magazine,* Winter, 1970; condensed and reprinted in *The Education Digest,* May, 1970). Essentially, I argued that black studies is concerned with the history and culture of a people and, on that basis alone, is a worthy undertaking.

I also argued that black studies programs represent the most likely institutional structure under which courses of and about blacks might best be organized and taught, since traditionally organized university, college, and school departments generally ignore the role of blacks in the American experience. In short, I argued that since black people were placed beyond the academic pale, it was better to have the history of black people taught separately, rather than not at all.

In his book, *Black Education: Myths and Tragedies,* Thomas Sowell highlights most if not all of the shortcomings of black studies programs, as he knows them, and he argues rather convincingly. Nevertheless, in view of his lack of documentation it seems fair to assume that his remarks on black studies programs are based largely on his personal experiences and discussions with unidentified individuals rather than from research and investigation as defined by usual academic standards.

Sowell has a duty to construct a more systematic (perhaps a survey-type) tool to confirm or deny the validity of his experiences and those of the individuals with whom he conferred. Otherwise, there is no way to determine how accurately the problems he discusses typify black studies

Dr. Bailey, also a black, is a political scientist. His faculty experience at several universities includes both teaching in and supervising black studies and special services programs.

programs throughout the country.

I would be remiss, however, if I did not quickly add that I tend to agree with some of Sowell's conclusions. As one who has both taught in and supervised black studies and special services programs, I have faced some of the problems he has discussed. Nevertheless, the question of how pervasive or how fundamental these problems are in the universities throughout the country is still left to conjecture.

Second, I do not find my belief in the need for black studies programs and Sowell's criticism of them to be contradictory. He and I are talking about two different aspects of the same problem. We disagree, I believe, in what to do about that problem.

I am saying that the history of black people should be taught and that, given the American academic milieu, black studies programs represent the most likely programs in which a concentrated effort can be made to accomplish this goal.

Sowell, it seems to me, is saying that because of the way in which many have been created, organized, and run and, especially, because of some of the personnel selected to be in charge, black studies programs have not taught the history of black people very well. These programs, he claims, have been, by and large, a disservice rather than a service to the teaching of and about black people.

Up to this point, Sowell and I are not in any substantial disagreement. Indeed, insofar as my limited experiences go, I am of the opinion that he is correct when he concludes that some of the programs are not serving very useful purposes as they are presently constructed and administered. However, Sowell and I part company with regard to the solution or solutions to the problems he describes.

I infer that he sees only two real options for the black studies faculty member: (a) to accept academic inferiority or (b) to promote nonacademic goals. Another option would be not to abandon black studies programs but to strengthen them in terms of their organization and functions until they are as academically sound and command as much respect as the traditional disciplines.

The problems of black studies, it seems to me, are soluble. First, the problem of too many hastily and ill-constructed black studies programs can be solved by recognizing that some universities are not large enough or financially secure enough to house a respectable black studies department.

Those universities that can establish good black studies programs should do so; the remaining institutions should select a number of core courses on blacks and incorporate these courses into traditional fields of study. For example, a course entitled, say, "The History of Black Americans from Slavery to Freedom" might best be taught in the history department. Another core course on "The Politics of Inequality" might best be taught by political science.

In short, where universities are able to organize and staff good black studies programs, they should do so. In instances where this is not possible, core courses of and about blacks ought to be added in traditional fields of study.

In this same vein, university officials responsible for hiring faculty for these programs should, as in any other program, seek out those who are academically prepared to do the job. These well-qualified blacks would have no need to politicize the students, at the expense of educating them, in order to establish a power base for themselves.

By the same token, and this is a real problem, university officials must come out from behind such cliches as "I can't find any qualified blacks." This kind of game only infuriates blacks, who often respond by engaging in some form of protest. Administrators, in turn, then rush to hire blacks. It is precisely in such an atmosphere that the less able people are engaged. Administrators must understand this phenomenon and seek out the academically qualified before crisis-type situations occur.

Second, it must be made clear to black students that while black student protest movements helped hasten the birth of black studies programs, these programs and the personnel in them cannot be subjected to every whim of every black student. Black students should have inputs into these as well as other university programs, but they should not be allowed the final word on the chairman and professors or the course offerings and how they are to be taught.

In short, black students who want good programs must recognize that having a hundred

Those universities that can establish good black studies programs should do so.

different voices advise how these programs should be organized and run does not help the success index. Rather, such activity only serves to chase away the more able and educationally oriented professors, who refuse to be subjected to such antiintellectual nonsense. This, in turn, hastens the demise of the programs.

Third, a number of scholars who have expertise in black studies should come together in some way and draw up a model black studies curriculum outlining courses by name and briefly describing the probable contents of each.

They might also suggest the type of academic training one should have either to direct these programs or to teach the courses outlined in the model curriculum. This would serve to eliminate the "God called me" types, who no more belong in the educational system than they did in the pulpits or, in more recent times, in the political arena.

Finally, expediency-minded administrators, as well as the incompetents they have hired, should be weeded out. They must be replaced, however, by individuals who are not only academically secure but who are also fully aware of the need for and the right of black folks to have their history and culture taught and taught honestly.

I do not believe that the solution to the problems of black studies programs is to dismantle them any more than I believe that schools of education or departments of sociology, which, Sowell observes in his book, do not enjoy high status in the academic community, should be dismantled.

Rather, I believe that black studies programs have some very necessary and important functions to perform. To dismantle the programs would mean only that some other means, with a new set of problems, would have to be devised in order that the history of blacks be taught.

The history of black people must continue to be recorded and taught, no matter what. For without black studies, the myths and tragedies, the hopes and fears, the dreams and realities of a people might very well be condemned to obscurity. No group of people can afford this.

Black studies programs, freed of their problems, properly organized and scientifically conceived, will remove the historical and cultural void in which blacks often find themselves.

Blacks and whites (my teaching experiences tell me that whites are also helped by black studies) will come to know and understand black history and culture objectively from those blacks and, I dare say, unbiased white professionals who have a thorough knowledge of African-American history and culture.

Through black studies, black students and white students will be introduced to such scientifically oriented scholars as W.E.B. DuBois, Carter G. Woodson, Charles H. Wesley, John Hope Franklin, Herbert Aptheker, Rayford Logan, J. Saunders Redding, E. Franklin Frazier, Martin Jenkins, Loren Miller, August Meier, Elliott Rudwick, Benjamin Quarles, St. Clair Drake, Kenneth B. Clark, Matthew Holden, Jr., Harold Rose, Joanne Grant, Charles Hamilton, Harold Cruse, Vincent Harding, Harry A. Bailey, Jr., Thomas R. Dye, Melvin Drimmer, Eric Foner, Lerone Bennett, Jr., and Louis Harlan. Indeed, they will also get to meet Thomas Sowell.

What I am saying is that many of the names of the aforementioned individuals, both blacks and whites, would not even be recognized were it not for their research efforts on the world of African-Americans. Somehow, therefore, it seems inconceivable that all of this excellent research should be done on black people and then not be disseminated by some such means as a black studies program.

Thus, I am sure that the distinguished black scholars who, Sowell says in his book, have criticized black studies programs could not be against studying and teaching about black folks, for they themselves have engaged in both of these activities.

Rather, not unlike Sowell, they have undoubtedly criticized the way in which some of these programs are presently constructed. I can understand this criticism. Constructive criticism is good for the soul. With it, black studies programs can be improved.

Can we not then go about the important business of restructuring those black studies programs in need of it so that they may serve their intended purposes of teaching and research? After all, if we don't have black studies in the classroom, the history of a people will be relegated to dusty library shelves. □

The Teacher's Right to Privacy

□ **In the past, the behavior of** teachers outside the classroom has been scrutinized almost as much as their performance in the classroom—and often even more. Behavior at odds with community norms has been cause for dismissal or nonrenewal. Among proscribed activities that might result in adverse board action were bicycle riding, dating, smoking, drinking beer, Sabbath breaking, gambling, and falling in love.

Even today, teacher behavior unrelated to professional matters has been the focus of school board attention. Teachers' political activities, expression of political convictions, marital status, pregnancy, membership in organizations, religion, hobbies, and social life are sometimes at variance with school mores. When school boards have determined that such aspects of a teacher's personal life constitute "behavior unbecoming a teacher" or "unprofessional conduct," they have fired teachers or otherwise changed their job status. Other teachers have been required, regardless of their wishes, to live within their employing jurisdictions.

School board reprisals for personal behavior may contravene the due-process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and violate the guaranteed First Amendment freedom of association and the right of privacy. If the conduct in question does not impair the teacher's ability to perform competently in the classroom, the adverse actions are additionally arbitrary and capricious. The Supreme Court has insisted that a teacher may not lose a certificate or be fired or nonrenewed for exercising rights guaranteed by the Constitution, unless exercising these rights significantly impedes teaching effectiveness or school operation.

Quite recently, courts began to deal with such restrictions on teacher behavior in terms of the teacher's right to privacy. Generally, unless the "objectionable behavior" relates to the responsibilities of the job, the courts do not uphold board actions against teachers. A federal court in Georgia ruled that a board of education violated an applicant's right of free association when it refused to employ her because of her association with an interracial, religiously oriented communal farm.

In another case, a basketball coach, also a teacher, was dismissed after the board was informed of his association with a waitress in his rural community. A board member reported that after a basketball game, the coach and the waitress drove to a country road and parked for some time.

Noting that the coach was discharged in midcontract without a hearing prior to termination, a federal court in Texas ordered reinstatement with back pay and attorney's fees. The court held: ". . . before a teacher can possibly be discharged for personal conduct, . . . a showing must be made that such conduct has a direct effect on the teacher's success in performing classroom duties. There was no evidence presented in this case that [his] relationship with [the waitress] interfered with his teaching duties in any way. Without this showing, the discharge is impermissible."

A middle-aged divorcée was not

Association with friends in the privacy of one's home is a right protected by the First and Fourteenth Amendments.

renewed as a high school teacher in Nebraska for "conduct unbecoming a teacher." On several occasions, because local accommodations were scarce, young women and men, including married couples—friends of her married son who lived in a neighboring town—stayed overnight at her apartment. One young male guest stayed in her home about a week while visiting school classes as a means of completing some of his college requirements, and it was after his visit that she was notified of the nonrenewal action.

An NEA/NSEA friend of the court brief filed in the appeals court argued that the school board acted against the teacher without any factual or rational basis, that her conduct was unrelated to the educational process at the high school, that association with friends in the privacy of her home is a right protected by the First and Fourteenth Amendments, and that she was terminated arbitrarily because the board failed to give her notice that she would be terminated if friends stayed overnight.

The Eighth Circuit ruled that for a woman teacher to allow young men from out of town to stay overnight in her home is not necessarily unbecoming conduct. Said the court of these visits: ". . . there is no proof of improper conduct. . . . The presence of these guests in her home provides no inkling beyond subtle implication and innuendo which would impugn [her] morality."

A Wisconsin teacher lived in a room in her divorced fiancé's house for the month of September until she obtained a place of her own. In November, the couple married after the man obtained court permission to remarry. The school board in October requested her resignation for "unprofessional conduct," and after she refused to resign, the board, voting in executive session, terminated her employment.

The federal district court, ordering reinstatement and back salary, noted that her conduct did not affect her classroom performance; there was no disruption in the school because of her behavior; the dismissal was for no reason other than her month's residence in her fiancé's home; and her conduct did not violate any board rules or regulations.

The Fifth Circuit has, moreover, upheld the right of a private citizen not to lose his job because of a private associational relationship disapproved by the community. A black police officer contended that he was fired because he permitted two white women working on an antipoverty project to board in his home with his family. His employer had voiced concern "with the public's response to women of the white race staying in the home of a black police officer with his family" and insisted that city employees "stay in the middle of the road" because of racial tensions. The appeals court said that the burden rests on the defendant city officials to show that his conduct "would materially and substantially impair his usefulness as a police officer."

Marital status and pregnancy have traditionally affected a woman teacher's employment. Now, court decisions and Equal Employment Opportunity Commission guidelines prohibiting sex discrimination should protect teachers.

Several years ago a young white teacher was fired by her school district in Massachusetts when she decided to marry a black man who was divorced. She filed suit in federal court alleging board violations of her right of privacy and free association as well as racial bias. Her case was settled out of court and she was reinstated to her teaching position.

More recently, a tenured teacher in Illinois was discharged on grounds of immorality because she conceived a child while not legally married. The transcript of the school board hearing—open to the public by *board* request—indicates a minimum amount of comment. Surely, the state court noted, these hearings brought more notoriety than the teacher's pregnancy.

The court reinstated the teacher with back pay, noting that government agencies may not deny women equal protection of the laws because of their sex. It would be an abridgement of constitutional guarantees to fire unmarried pregnant teachers if unmarried male teachers who might have caused a pregnancy are not also dismissed.

The court also criticized the superintendent's original report of the matter because it ". . . set a double standard. On the one hand, the report talks about the teacher being pregnant and unmarried . . . while, on the other hand, the report criticizes [her] for not taking formal maternity leave early enough so that her pregnancy would not become obvious."

The court indicated that the

NEA CHRISTMAS TOURS

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Dec. 26—Dec. 31
$299 + $40 tax/service from New York

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Dec. 23—Jan. 1
$459 from Dallas, $509 from Chicago, $577 from Wash. D.C., $599 from N.Y., $485 from Los Angeles. All prices + $40 tax/service.
Round-trip jet transportation; Mexico City, San Miguel Allende, Guanajuato, Guadalajara, San Jose Purua; first-class hotels; 14 meals

***CURTAIN CALL (CC)**
Dec. 23—Jan. 1
$460 from New York
Round-trip chartered jet New York/London; 8 nights in London; 4 theatre events; hotel; Continental breakfast daily & dinner on Dec. 25 & 26

***RUSSIAN WINTER FESTIVAL (XRF)**
Dec. 22—Dec. 31
$669 from New York and $696 from Washington, D.C.
Roundtrip chartered jet New York/Moscow; first-class hotels with private bath; 3 meals daily; sightseeing; Bolshoi Ballet and the circus

CHRISTMAS IN ROME AND THE HOLY LANDS (XHL)
Dec. 22—Dec. 30
$698 from New York
Round-trip jet transportation; 2 meals daily; first-class hotels; shrines of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Rome; Midnight Mass at St. Catherines.

***DUTCH SHOES (XDS)**
Dec. 23—Jan. 1
$378 from New York
Round-trip chartered jet New York/Amsterdam; 8 nights in Amsterdam; half-day in home of Dutch family; first-class hotel; Continental breakfast daily + 2 dinners

CHRISTMAS IN GUATEMALA (XG)
Dec. 22—Jan. 1
$489 from New Orleans, $557 from New York or Wash. D.C., $617 from Chicago, $594 from Los Angeles. All prices + $40 tax/service.
Round-trip jet transportation; first-class hotels; 13 meals; Guatemala City, Antigua, Lake Atitlan, Chichicastenango; sightseeing

***CHRISTMAS IN THE FRENCH ALPS (XFA)**
Dec. 23—Dec. 31
$339 up from New York
Round-trip jet New York/Lyon, France; Motorcoach to Les Minuires; Continental breakfast daily; cocktail party. Write for brochure on ski options & alternate meal plan.

HONOLULU MALIHINI (HM)
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$315 + 10% tax/service from Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, Seattle & Chicago; $355 + 10% from Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, Atlanta, Minneapolis/St. Paul; and $395 + 10% from New York, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C.
Round-trip jet transportation; 7 days, 6 nights in Honolulu; hotel; tour of Honolulu.

HAWAIIAN KALIKIMAKA (HK)
Dec. 23—Dec. 30
$385 + 10 tax/service from Los Angeles, San Francisco, Portland, Seattle, and Chicago; $425 + 10% from Cleveland, Detroit, Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, Atlanta, Minneapolis/St. Paul; and $465 + 10% from New York, Philadelphia and Washington, D.C.
Round-trip jet transportation; hotel; 7 days, 6 nights in Hawaii, 2 islands; tour of Honolulu.

NOTE:
Prices are per person based on double occupancy and are all subject to change. Single accommodations (if available) at additional cost. Tours marked with * are based on use of chartered airfare, and membership in NEA for at least 6 months prior to departure date is required by the C.A.B. (Civil Aeronautics Board). Members of the immediate family of the NEA member are also eligible to participate in charter tours. Tours NOT marked with * are open to NEA members, other relatives, and friends.

Application for Reservation

Mail to either of the offices listed below with deposit check in the amount of $125 per person and proof of NEA membership.

NEA Educational Travel, 1201 16th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036
IEA/NEA Travel Service, 1S132 Summit Avenue, Suite #203, Oakbrook Terrace, Villa Park, Illinois 60181

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school board was not concerned about the question of the unmarried pregnancy but the fact that the teacher didn't hide her pregnancy.

How a teacher's private homosexual behavior should determine the teacher's employment status has been at issue in several cases. In a case involving revocation of a teacher's certificate because of a brief homosexual relationship with another teacher, the California Supreme Court concurred with the teacher's allegation that his ability to teach was not affected by the relationship.

The other teacher had reported the incident more than a year afterward to the superintendent, and the first teacher resigned. Later, the first teacher contested in state court the school board's efforts to revoke his credentials. The court noted that ". . . an unqualified proscription against immoral conduct would raise serious constitutional problems" involving the teacher's constitutional right to privacy. Unless there is a showing that the relationship with the other teacher substantially affected his fitness to teach, his certificate could not be revoked simply because of participation in the relationship.

A female teacher in her second teaching year was terminated in midcontract for "immorality" after she acknowledged to her school board that she was a "practicing homosexual." No allegations were made concerning her possible neglect of teaching responsibilities or inappropriate advances toward any student. A federal court in Oregon noted that the state statute grants school boards the power to fire teachers for immorality but fails to define this concept.

Said the court: "Immorality means different things to different people, and its definition depends on the idiosyncracies of the individual school board members. It may be applied so broadly that every teacher in the state could be subject to discipline. The potential for arbitrary and discriminatory enforcements is inherent. . . ."

Although the court ordered defendants to pay back salary, it denied the teacher's request for reinstatement. That issue is now on appeal to the Ninth Circuit.

Two private sexual conduct cases, different from the aforementioned ones, are now before the courts. In one case, a married teacher with 13 years of teaching experience had been arrested at a swingers party, had pleaded guilty to a charge of "outraging decency," and had paid a fine. Six months later, school officials learned about them and her teaching credential was revoked.

The other case involves the summary transfer to a nonteaching curriculum position of an eighth grade earth science teacher when the board learned in the press of his difficulties in obtaining certification in another state where his advocacy of homosexuality was known.

School officials also attempt to control a teacher's private life by requiring teachers to reside within the employing jurisdiction. This fall a federal court invalidated a Kansas City (Kansas) school board's residency rule, noting that the classification of residents and nonresidents is arbitrary and does not rest upon any reasonable basis. In another case, the Supreme Court of New Hampshire nullified a city ordinance forcing all city employees, absent a special permit, to be or become residents of the city within 12 months of their employment. Said the court: ". . . the right of every citizen to live where he chooses and to travel freely not only within the state but across its borders is a fundamental right which is guaranteed both by our own and the Federal Constitutions." However, in other decisions, this line of reasoning has not been followed.

The private life of teachers is an unsettled area of the law. Today the line between employment and termination in certain kinds of private life cases seems to be drawn at both the degree of discretion exercised and the effect on the educational process. Certainly, behavior on the part of a teacher that is patently injurious to the student/teacher relationship or violative of the student's welfare is probable cause for dismissal.

The NEA has supported litigation on behalf of a number of teachers whose right to teach was violated when school boards took adverse actions for conduct outside the classroom that was not performance-related. NEA's assistance has not indicated agreement or disagreement with the teachers' private conduct. Rather, NEA has impressed upon the courts that the determinant of employment must be professional performance, not conduct which has no demonstrable relationship to teaching.

—Betty E. Sinowitz, *special assistant, DuShane Emergency Fund, NEA Teacher Rights.*

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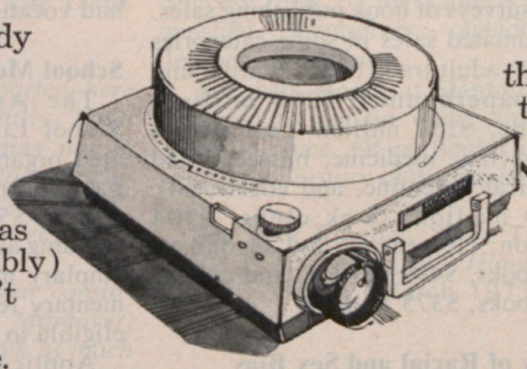

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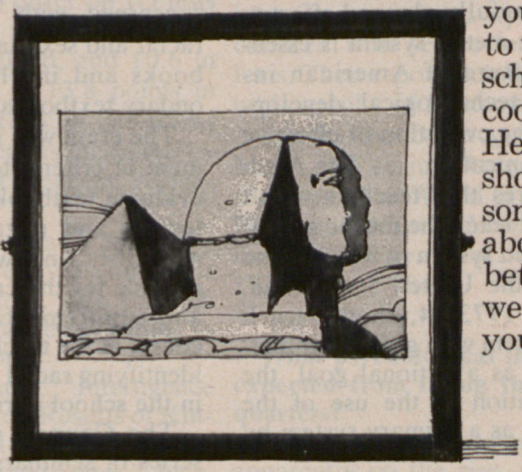

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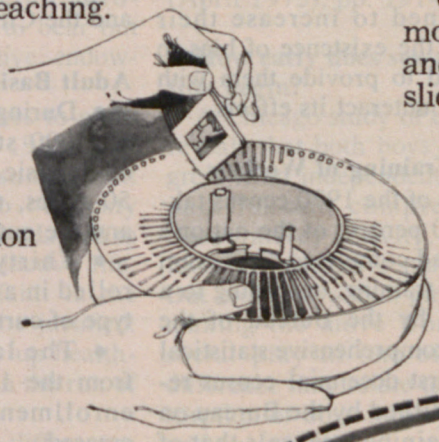

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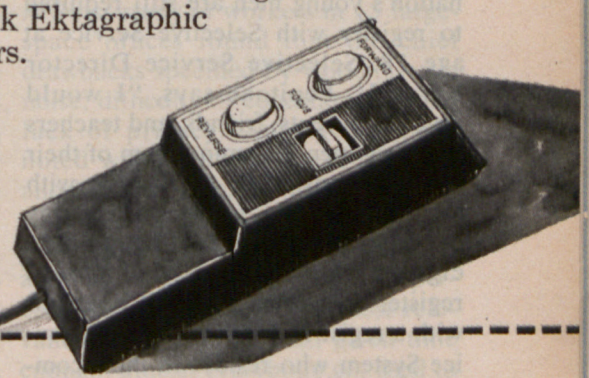

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11-5

DEVELOPMENTS

Maryland Adopts Metric System for Public Schools

Maryland public schools will convert to the metric system by 1980. The Maryland State Board of Education has directed the state superintendent to present a plan in the fall of 1974 for implementing the changeover.

Although Congressional attempts to switch the nation to the metric system have failed so far, educational systems and businesses have begun converting in the belief that the switch is inevitable. The United States is the only major nation in the world that does not use or is not committed to use the metric system as its basic standard of measurement.

The 1973 NEA Representative Assembly again passed a resolution stating that "a carefully planned effort to convert to the metric system is essential to the future of American industrial and technological development and to the evolution of effective world communication. . . . The Association declares that teachers of all grades should teach the metric system as the preferred system of weights and measures of the United States, and, beginning in 1973-74, should teach the metric system with greater emphasis to assure, as a national goal, the orderly transition to the use of the metric system as a primary system by 1980."

18-Year-Olds and Selective Service

Even though the draft is ended, the nation's young men are still required to register with Selective Service at age 18. Selective Service Director Byron V. Pepitone says, "I would urge the parents, friends, and teachers of young men to remind them of their legal responsibility to register with Selective Service within the 60-day period beginning 30 days before their eighteenth birthday. They should register at the nearest local board or with a registrar for the Selective Service System who resides in their community."

Book Sales Total $3.2 Billion

In 1972, book sales totaled almost $3.2 billion, an increase of 3 percent over 1971 sales, according to the estimates by the Association of American Publishers, Inc., which conducts annual surveys of book publishing sales.

Estimated sales in some categories follow: adult trade books (hardbound and paperbound), $298 million; juvenile, $152 million; professional books (law; medicine; business; and technical, scientific, and vocational), $350 million; book clubs, $304 million; elementary and secondary textbooks, $498 million; and college textbooks, $375 million.

Study of Racial and Sex Bias in Children's Books Begins

The Carnegie Corporation of New York has awarded a $160,000 grant to the Council on Interracial Books for Children, a nonprofit organization concerned with the elimination of racial and sex bias in children's trade books and in elementary and secondary textbooks.

The grant will support the development of criteria to enable teachers to evaluate textbooks for incorrect, distorted, and negative depictions of minorities and women. It will also provide for the creation of a syllabus and supplementary materials for a course at the teachers college level on identifying racial and sex stereotyping in the school curriculum.

The Council plans to sponsor a series of seminars and workshops for teachers, administrators, textbook publishers, librarians, and supervisors designed to increase their awareness of the existence of bias in textbooks and to provide them with methods to counteract its effects.

Vocational Training of Workers

At the time of the 1970 census taking, nearly 30 percent of the nation's labor force had completed a program of vocational training, according to a report issued by the Bureau of the Census. The comprehensive statistical report—the first decennial census report ever published by the Bureau on vocational training—reveals that of the 82.4 million labor force, 23.7 million (29 percent) had completed such training.

Proportions were nearly the same for men and women: 15.4 million men, or about 30 percent, and 8.3 million women, or 27 percent, had had vocational training.

School Media Award

The American Association of School Librarians (an NEA associated organization) and the Encyclopaedia Britannica Companies will award a $5,000 prize for the most outstanding achievement in providing exemplary media programs at the elementary level. Any school system is eligible to apply.

Application forms are available from state school library supervisors or AASL, 50 East Huron Street, Chicago 60611. Complete applications must be submitted to the AASL state liaison for the awards no later than November 16, 1973.

Asian American Studies Spread

Black studies . . . Women's studies . . . now Asian American studies. The latter have sprung up at U.S. colleges and universities—primarily in institutions with concentrations of Asian American students on the East and West Coasts of the country, according to a New York *Times* article. They focus mainly on Japanese, Chinese, Koreans, and Filipinos.

The largest Asian American programs on the mainland are at the University of California at Berkeley, the University of California at Los Angeles, San Francisco State College, and the City College of New York.

Adult Basic Education Programs

- During fiscal year 1971, almost 621,000 students were enrolled in adult basic education programs in the 50 states, the District of Columbia, and the outlying areas.
- Thirty-four percent were enrolled in a programmed-instruction type of curriculum.
- The largest enrollment came from the 18 to 24 age group, with enrollment decreasing as age increased.

These are among the findings included in *Adult Basic Education Program Statistics,* a report of the National Center for Educational Statistics of the USOE.

RESEARCH CLUES

By ALEXANDER FRAZIER
Professor of Education, The Ohio State University, Columbus.

Findings like those reported here have to be assessed carefully. What works in one situation may not in another. A single study seldom settles an issue or determines "the truth" once and for all. Knowledge accumulates slowly.

But new ideas deserve our consideration and often repay it. Moreover, we may sometimes be struck as much by the audacity and ambition of a researcher as by his results. If a study opens up a new field of speculation for us, that may be contribution enough.

How closely is measured intelligence related to life success?

The Terman study of gifted children (1,500 of them) is 50 years old—and still in progress. Now in their sixties and seventies, the subjects have just been surveyed once again, this time on aging as well as other matters. The results of this most recent inquiry, conducted by Lee J. Cronbach and Robert Sears of Stanford University, have yet to be reported.

But the earlier findings are back in the news as a result of the revived heredity vs. environment debate. Arthur R. Jensen and others, assuming the role of Mother Nature's advocates, point to the study to bear out their contention that native endowment is what counts.

The present review serves to point up contrasts between the 1920's and today. Then, it was assumed that bright children tended to be sickly and were otherwise poorly adapted to the hurly-burly of a productive life. Terman found his own faith in the sturdiness of intellect to be justified: his bright youngsters grew up healthier and better adjusted than the run of the mill.

However, many of the differences he noted would currently be charged off to the socioeconomic bias of his sample. Terman's children were predominantly middle-class, nonrural, and white. Moreover, his definition of intelligence was geared to academic success. Few of his subjects distinguished themselves outside the learned professions.

The data stored at Stanford seem destined to remain under study for years to come. Of particular interest will be the history of the women in the study.

See Jack Fincher, "The Terman Study Is 50 Years Old," *Human Behavior,* Vol. 2 (March 1973), pp. 8-15.

Does social class make the difference between IQ and achievement test scores?

In this study, white-collar and blue-collar children in England and Ireland were found to differ on IQ tests much as they do in the United States: 11.3 points in England, and 10.6 in Ireland, compared to 13.8 points in the United States. Less variation was found in achievement as measured by the Boehm Test of Concept Formation, but it exists.

In brief, the investigator concludes that class is what really accounts for test score differences. The English and Irish children were all white, so race can be ruled out.

See Julia R. Vane, "Intelligence and Achievement Test Results of Kindergarten-Age Children in England, Ireland, and the United States," *Journal of Clinical Psychology,* Vol. 29 (April 1973), pp. 191-93.

How early does sex-role socialization begin?

A Chicago study of children's play reveals that both boys and girls progress from independent play through parallel and complementary (or cooperative) activity, reaching the level of integrative play by age five. But more boys than girls lag behind, making the move from solitary to social play in one big jump. The difference may relate to the early absorption of boys in playing with toys and constructional games, whereas, from the word go, girls prefer personal role playing to any other form of play.

See Margaret Iwanaga, "Development of Interpersonal Play Structure in Three, Four, and Five Year Old Children," *Journal of Research and Development in Education,* Vol. 6 (Spring 1973), pp. 71-82.

What does criterion-referenced measurement promise?

When tied in with individual achievement monitoring, it seems likely to make teaching more goal-oriented and thus more successful. It certainly spells the end of reliance on norm-based achievement tests for anything except initial placement. Diagnosis has to be seen as an integral element in teaching.

From their review of the CRM movement, the authors develop several models that clarify processes and identify procedures appropriate to children with severe learning problems. Their report includes a valuable bibliography of 57 items.

See Barton B. Proger and Lester Mann, "Criterion-Referenced Measurement: The World of Gray Versus Black and White," *Journal of Learning Disabilities,* Vol. 6 (February 1973), pp. 73-84.

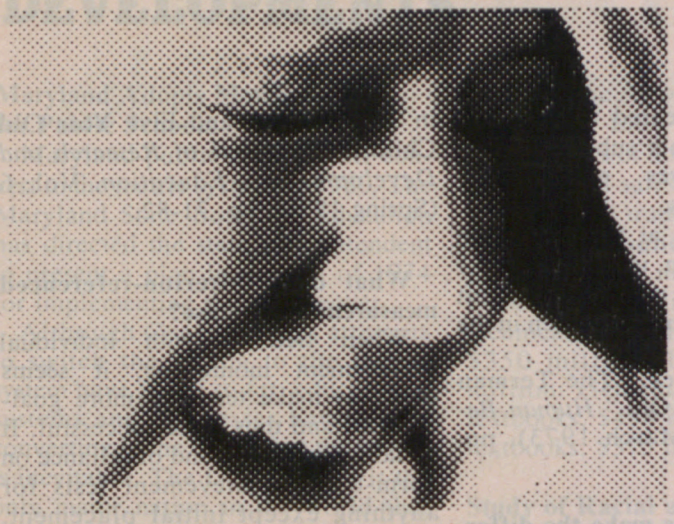
What psychological impact can be expected from living in large-space quarters?

With open-space school buildings apparently on the rise, especially at the elementary and middle school levels, we can anticipate a good deal of concern with adjustment problems. A Swiss study of workers in 15 large-space offices found that the chief drawbacks specified by workers were noise, difficulty of concentration, and lack of privacy. Among the gains noted were more personal contacts and better placement of those whose work tasks were related.

When asked if they would accept another job in such an office, 59 percent said they would. The most relevant finding may be that, given time enough, almost everybody got used to their new circumstances.

See Jan Nemecek and Etienne Grandjean, "Results of an Ergonomic Investigation of Large-Scale Offices," *Human Factors,* Vol. 15 (April 1973), pp. 111-24. □

THE VD EPIDEMIC



IF YOU DON'T HELP STOP IT, WHO WILL?

VD is on the rampage--again. In 1971, gonorrhea ranked *first* and syphilis *third* among reportable communicable diseases. In 1972, there were an estimated 2,500,000 cases of gonorrhea and 85,000 cases of syphilis. These are more than cold statistics. They're people, especially young adults and teenagers. They need your help. Others need to be warned.

As a counselor or educator, you are in a unique position to educate students about VD. To bring it out into the open, to make them aware of its symptoms, treatment--and consequences if untreated. Young people cannot be served by omission or taboos. To deal effectively with the VD problem, it must be acknowledged--not ignored.

To help, the American Medical Association has prepared educational materials you'll find invaluable. They include: VD slide Presentation--70 slides and card-text; VD Booklet; VD Posters; Newspaper Article and Radio Spots to alert the public to the VD problem; List of Additional VD Resource Materials and Example of a State-wide VD Education Program. Plus Free Public Service TV Spot on VD. Spots are available at no cost to your local TV station. Have station write AMA Dept. of TV for free copies.

To order send in completed form below

Please send me the indicated VD Education Kit. My check for $ _____ is enclosed. (Please make check payable to American Medical Association.)

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( ) Kit No. 3 $5.50 OP-406
10 VD Booklets, 2 Posters, VD Resource List, Free TV Spot

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Parochiaid
(Continued from page 79)

emphasized in holding that the programs have "the impermissible effect of advancing religion."

The immediate result of the *Nyquist* and *Lemon* decisions should be to invalidate laws in other states—including Minnesota, Ohio, California, Louisiana, Illinois, and Connecticut—that provide either tax benefits or tuition reimbursements to parents of nonpublic school children. The Supreme Court's reasons for striking down the New York and Pennsylvania statutes would seem equally applicable to these statutes in light of the fact reported in Justice White's dissenting opinion in *Lemon* that 83 percent of the total nonpublic school enrollment nationwide is in Roman Catholic schools.

For the same reasons, the decisions would appear to signal the death knell for pending federal legislation, which has significant bipartisan support, that would allow parents of nonpublic school children to claim for each dependent pupil a credit of up to $200 a year against federal income taxes.

In the more distant future, it would appear that new forms of aid to parents of nonpublic school children are unlikely to survive constitutional attack under the Court's decisions unless the class of beneficiaries also includes parents of public school children as well.

It may be noted that the Court took pains to point out that the manner in which it resolved the tuition-grant issue made it unnecessary to decide whether the significantly religious character of the statutes' beneficiaries might differentiate the *Nyquist* and *Lemon* cases from a case involving some form of public assistance (for example, scholarships) made available generally without regard to the sectarian-nonsectarian or public-nonpublic nature of the institution benefitted.

The Court's reservation may thus leave for another day the issue of the constitutionality of the so-called voucher plan proposals, under which education would be financed by federal or state stipends given to all families to be spent in schools of their choice, public or private. However, the political prospects for vouchers appear slight because such plans might, in some areas, jeopardize the future existence of public schools.

Of more long-range significance, however, is the probability that the firmness of the Court's 6-3 and 8-1 decisions may finally convince candidates and elected officials that they should stop promising federal aid to nonpublic elementary and secondary schools that they cannot deliver.

Already, there are indications that such promises may no longer be considered deliverable. In an editorial on the Supreme Court decisions, the Catholic weekly, *Commonweal,* observed: ". . . it is hard to imagine what new legal avenues remain to be explored."

History may thus record *Nyquist* and *Lemon* as the last shot in the long battle over specific state aid for religious education. □

THE LAW AND TEACHER RIGHTS

Using Title VII To Challenge Race and Sex Discrimination

The following article is one in a series being prepared by the DuShane Emergency Fund, NEA Teacher Rights.

All educators who are being denied equal employment opportunities and related benefits on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, or sex have a legal recourse under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended in 1972. Title VII covers discrimination in hiring, firing, layoff, recall, recruitment, wages, and conditions of employment; promotional opportunities; assignment; sick leave; overtime; insurance and health benefits; retirement; or advertising employment preferences based on sex by all employers of more than 15 persons, including state and local governments and educational institutions. Back pay may be awarded for up to two years prior to filing charges with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). EEOC guidelines on sex discrimination cover policies relating to marital status and to pregnancy, childbirth, and child care leaves.

Evidence of discrimination can be established if practices have a differential effect on a person or class of persons. The *end result*, not motivation or intent, is crucial. Once the differential effect is established, the burden is placed upon the employer to show that the differential is caused by some bona fide occupational qualification that is nondiscriminatory in nature. To prove that sex, national origin, or religion is a bona fide occupational qualification, for example, the employer would have to show that only persons of one sex, national origin, or religion would be able to perform the job safely or efficiently. The employer must show that an employment practice which produces differential effects is valid and needed for efficient functioning of the busi-

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ness or institution. Unlawful practices include the use of tests and job classifications that bar minorities and women from consideration for positions that are not reasonably related to job performance.

If an individual can show a pattern of discrimination in an employer's practices, then it is more likely that the EEOC and the Justice Department will act swiftly to seek compliance and/or court action.

Winning a discrimination case is not easy. It is necessary to obtain substantial data relevant to the act or practice challenged. For example, answers to questions like the following may be needed: (a) Are white males, females, and minority persons who have identical job titles assigned responsibility on an equal basis? (b) Are employees considered equally for promotions and training programs? (c) What percentage of administrative positions in the school system or university are held by women and minorities? (d) Has the employer filed affirmative action programs for women and minorities? (e) Are fringe benefits (such as medical plans, leave policies, and insurance) equal? (f) Are minority persons and women recruited for supervisory positions?

Complaints may be filed with EEOC (1800 G Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20506) or with any of EEOC's district offices. The complainant or group of complainants, including teacher organizations filing on behalf of members, must complete a simple form. Assistance may be sought from NEA representatives. Complaints must be filed within 180 days after the alleged discrimination occurred unless the discrimination is continuous. Within 10 days after a charge is filed, EEOC must notify the employer of the charge. If the alleged violation occurred in a state or locality that has a fair employment law, then charges are automatically deferred for 60 days to the state or local agency. After 60 days pass or after the agency terminates its proceedings, then EEOC will initiate its investigation.

If EEOC finds discrimination or reasonable cause to believe the charge is true, it seeks conciliation to eliminate the discrimination. If this fails, in cases involving discrimination by state and local governments, the charge is referred to the Attorney General of the United States, who must decide within 180 days whether or not to file suit against an employer. If the Attorney General decides not to file suit or if EEOC dismisses the charge, the complainant may file suit within 90 days of such notice. If the complainant prevails, attorneys' fees are recoverable under Title VII. If the private employer, labor union, or private employment service refuses to comply with Title VII, EEOC itself may bring a civil action in federal court.

NEA Teacher Rights should be consulted for assistance with legal strategies and possible financial assistance from the DuShane Emergency Fund prior to filing EEOC charges. □

BOOKS

Arthur R. Jensen, *Genetics and Education*. New York: Harper & Row, 1972. 378 pp. $10.

R. J. Herrnstein, *I.Q. in the Meritocracy*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1973. 235 pp. $7.95.

These two books have much in common even though the main thrust of their messages differs.

Both are concerned with the role of heredity in the determination of human intelligence. Both come as sequels to articles whose publication evoked fighting reactions from student activists of the political left and also evoked a good deal of quiet disapproval from a substantial portion of the academic community. Both books open with prefaces describing the trials of each author subsequent to the publication of his magazine article, and these prefaces are longer than all but one of the several chapters.

Both authors devote much of their discourse to the history and nature of intelligence tests and the IQ. Both concern themselves extensively with explaining indices of heritability and with the evidences that heredity

influences variations in the IQ. Both conclude their explanations of heritability by accepting the estimate, traditional before World War II, that 80 percent of the variation in the IQ is attributable to heredity, and only 20 percent to the environment.

Despite these similarities, however, the nature of the books and their principal messages differ. Jensen's book is a republication of six articles, including the semitechnical one that evoked such a controversy and furor when it appeared under the title "How Much Can We Boost IQ and Scholastic Achievement?" in the Winter 1969 issue of the *Harvard Educational Review*.

Four of the other articles are either reviews or expositions of technical issues (e.g., "Estimation of the Limits of Heritability of Traits by Comparison of Monozygotic and Dizygotic Twins"). The fifth one deals with ethical issues concerned with genetic research on human abilities.

Even though these papers are technical, they have been written with a minimum of obfuscating jargon. Although reading them will be hard work for anyone without statistical background, they can probably be understood.

Herrnstein's book, on the other hand, "grew out of [the] article entitled 'I.Q.,' published in the *Atlantic Monthly* magazine in September 1971." His is far less statistical and technical than Jensen's. It appears to be a deliberate effort to interpret the history and the evidence from intelligence tests for educated laymen who lack statistical sophistication. The chapter entitled "What Is Intelligence?" may be the best popular presentation of the subject available.

The messages of the two books differ sharply, although this appears not to have been appreciated by their student critics. Jensen's chief concern is to use the evidence and theoretical argument that 80 percent of the variation in the IQ is determined by heredity in order to explain what he considers to be the failure of Project Head Start. He uses the same evidence and argument to explain the variations in the average IQ for social classes and races.

Herrnstein states his chief message in the second paragraph of his final chapter entitled "The Specter of Meritocracy." He presents it in the form of a syllogism: "(1) If differences in mental abilities are inherited, and (2) if success requires those abilities, and (3) if earnings and prestige depend on success, (4) then social standing (which reflects earnings and prestige) will be based to some extent on inherited differences among people."

He elaborates his syllogism in corollaries that "point to a future in which social classes not only continue but become ever more solidly built on inborn differences. As wealth and complexity of human society grow, there may settle out of the mass of humanity a stratum that is unable to master the common occupations, cannot compete for success and achievement, and is most likely to be born to parents who have similarly failed."

On the other hand, Herrnstein makes no claim that racial differences in IQ are a matter of heredity. Instead, he notes that "the case is simply not settled. . . . Although there are scraps of evidence for a genetic component in the black-white difference, the overwhelming case is for believing that American blacks have been at an environmental disadvantage."

In their prefaces, these authors review the treatment they received after publishing their articles and view it as a serious breach of academic freedom, which Herrnstein attributes to "a political orthodoxy on human equipotentiality to which scholarship has become hostage." They certainly did receive lamentably horrible treatment from student activists of the political left.

While this reviewer has no reason to believe that either author has other than the welfare of mankind as a whole at heart, it is worth noting that neither of the offending articles was published in a highly specialized technical journal that might have kept the controversy within the relevant disciplines or at least within the academic family. Moreover, they published these articles at a time when the issue of racial differences was obviously explosive.

Academic freedom is only a partially achieved ideal even within academia, and it has never made much headway in revolution-like social movements. It is highly unscientific psychologically to ask others concerned in the revolution for nice distinctions between scientifically answerable aspects of the question of racial differences in ability and the moral, political, and social-policy issues at a time when blacks are engaged (with many white sympathizers) in winning for themselves a new level of status and self-respect.

Moreover, Jensen's article opens with the sentence: "Compensatory education has been tried and it apparently has failed." Inasmuch as Jensen must have known that there are other reasons why Project Head Start did not achieve more, this phrasing smacks of propaganda rather than science.

Herrnstein, coming later with quite another message based on the influence of heredity on the IQ, seems to have been inundated with the tidal wave of hostile reaction caused by Jensen's attribution to heredity of racial differences in the IQ.

Now, the claim of both authors that heredity plays at least a part in variations in the IQ is well attested by the fact that the size of the correlation between samples of pairs of relatives always increases with the degree of genetic relationship between pairs. The correlations are higher for samples of identical twins than for samples of fraternal twins, higher for first cousins than for second cousins, etc.

How much of the variation in IQ is attributable to heredity is a more difficult question to answer. The figure of 80 percent, accepted by both authors, revisits an orthodoxy originating well before World War II. Authorities agree less well on this figure than either Jensen or Herrnstein would indicate. Another recent

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review of the evidence by Christopher Jencks and his group at Harvard, for instance, places the figure for heritability of the IQ at approximately 45 percent rather than 80 (see *Inequality,* New York: Basic Books, 1972, Appendix A).

Since an index of heritability for the variability in the measures of any trait holds only for the population on which it is based while the environment remains unchanged, this effort to find a general index of heritability for the IQ is highly suspect.

Furthermore, the index of heritability is irrelevant to why Head Start failed to achieve more, and so long as the developmental circumstances of black and white children differ as they do (see J. McV. Hunt, *The Challenge of Incompetence and Poverty,* Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1969), the index can tell us nothing about the basis for race differences.

Jensen is not original in his argument; he is revisiting a tradition, an old orthodoxy in psychometric investigation. Herrnstein is entirely correct in saying that we do not know whether heredity figures in racial differences in the IQ. Moreover, this reviewer sees no way of finding out with more investigations that use the traditional methodology of heritability indices.

Educability is another matter, one to be attacked through assessments of what geneticists call the "norm of reaction." This norm is defined as the range of observable and measurable "phenotypic" reactions that a specified genotype or genetic constitution can produce in the process of developing in differing environments.

The appropriate strategy for investigating the range of reaction is to find individuals from what approximates a given population who have been reared under differing circumstances. Such a strategy is new, but it resembles that which turned up the evidences of plasticity in early behavioral development (see J. McV. Hunt, "Heredity, Environment and Class or Ethnic Differences," in *Assessment in a Pluralistic Society,* Princeton, New Jersey, Educational Testing Service, 1973).

Herrnstein's message is new to this reviewer. An immediate impression is that Herrnstein's syllogism has considerable logical force so long as his "if's" hold, and all three appear to hold at least to some degree in every advanced technological culture known even slightly to this reviewer.

It seems highly likely that, with proper early education, all but a minute fraction of human beings have the genetic potential to achieve the competence required for full participation in all but the top quarter of the mainstream of our highly technological culture. As long as a status hierarchy persists in which children tend to choose their mates from among others at about the same level, however, the existence of a genetic component in competence of all the various kinds would seem likely to press toward a status hierarchy based increasingly on heredity.

The consequences of this press may be delayed by economic developments that make consumption less dependent upon individual competence and productivity, and by increasing acceptance of egalitarian values and other factors the nature of which cannot now be foreseen. As with Malthus' specter of the birthrate outrunning the food supply, the observable evidences of the press in Herrnstein's syllogism may fluctuate with various factors over a long period. Nonetheless, the press he finds in his syllogism looks now to this reviewer as if it might be real.

Reviewed by **J. McVicker Hunt,** professor of psychology and education, University of Illinois, Urbana.

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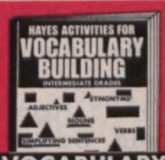

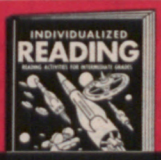

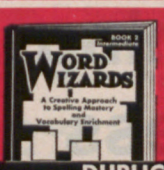

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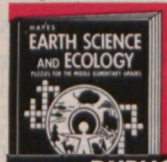

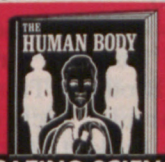

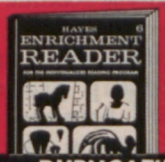

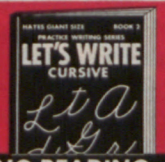

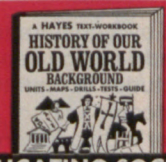

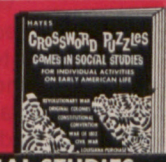

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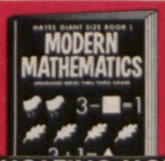

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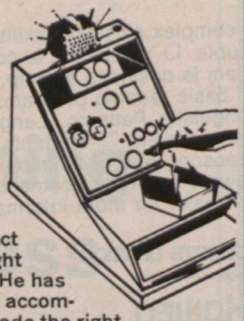

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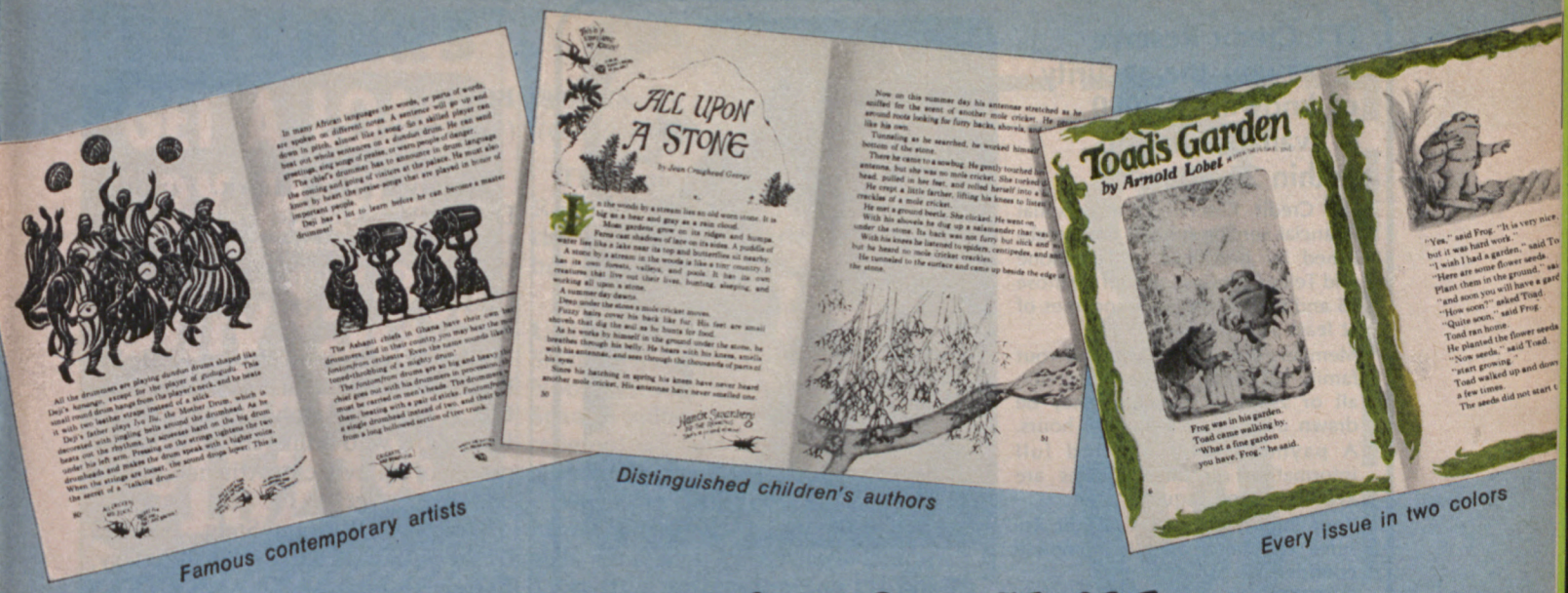

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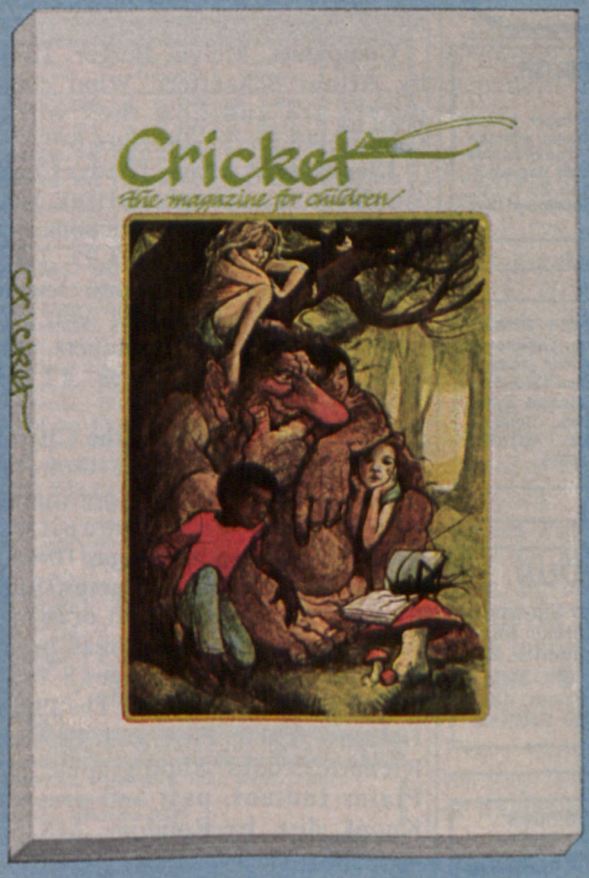

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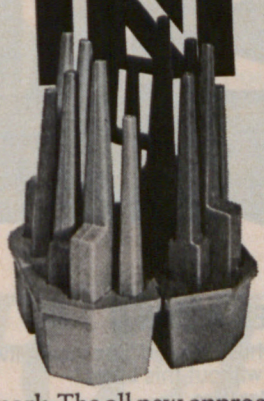

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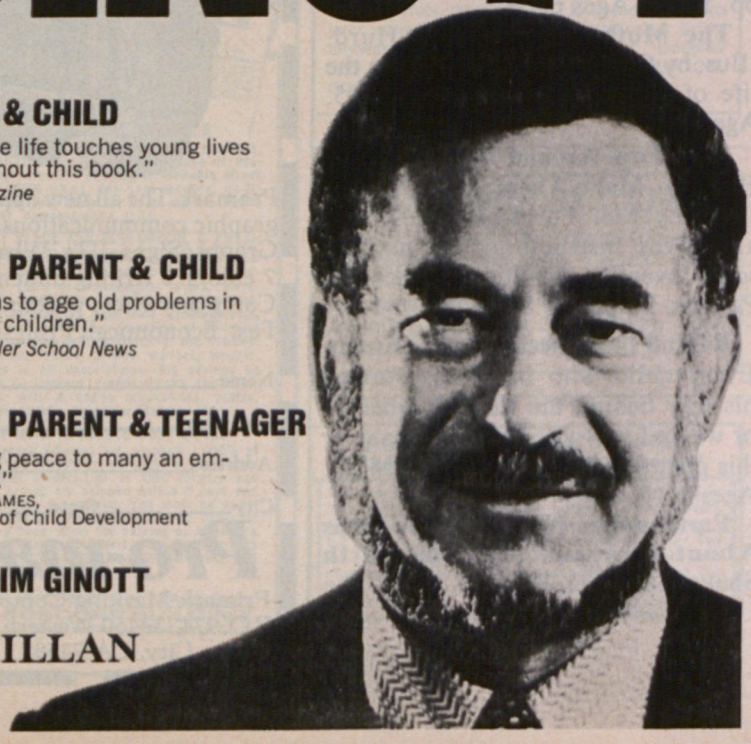

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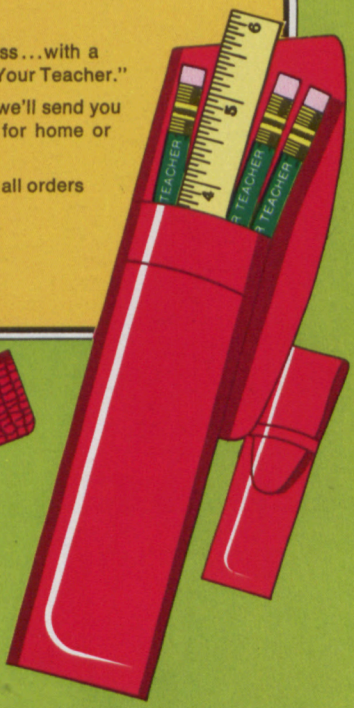

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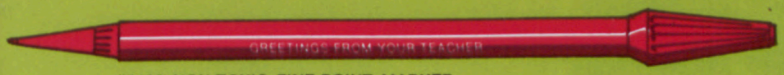

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